THE ROMAN HISTORY

OF

APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA

·The MM Co·



Julius Cæsar

In the British Museum

THE

ROMAN HISTORY

OF

APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

BY

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

THE CIVIL WARS

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Vastness! and Age! and Memories of Eld!
Silence! and Desolation! and dim Night!
I feel ye now — I feel ye in your strength —
O spells more sure than e'er Judæan King
Taught in the gardens of Gethsemane!
O charms more potent than the rapt Chaldee
Ever drew down from out the quiet stars.

EDGAR A. POE.

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BOOK I

THE CIVIL WARS

Introduction

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1. THE plebeians[1] and Senate of Rome [in the olden time] were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not bring them to blows, however; these were dissensions merely and contests within the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for
260 each other. Once when the plebeians were going to a war 494
they fell into such a controversy, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from this time on was called the Sacred Mount.[2] Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the tribune of the plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate, so that the political power should not be exclusively in their hands. Whence arose still greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed in stronger animosity to each other after this event, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the
262 power of its own magistrates. In the midst of contests of 492
this kind Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished con-

[1] ὁ δῆμος. The Greek language uses this word for the whole body of free citizens. In Latin the word *plebs* was used for the commonalty and *populus* for the whole body of commonalty and aristocracy together. In this translation the word "people" will be used in all cases as the equivalent of δῆμος, except where a distinction between *plebs* and *populus* is necessary to a correct understanding of the text.

[2] Cf. Livy, ii. 33, 34.

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262 trary to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war against his country. 492

2. This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly,
621 and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, 133
while serving as tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and many others besides, who were assembled with him at the Capitol, were slain around the temple. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and occasionally in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some one serving as tribune, or prætor, or consul, or a candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against the country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There were chiefs of factions in different places aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops intrusted to them by the people, others levying forces against each other on their own account, without public authority. Whichever of them first got possession of the city, the others made war nominally against their adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like a foreign enemy. Ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Men were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and some were even subjected to excruciating tortures.

672 3. No unseemly deed was wanting until, about fifty years 82
after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the absolute master of the state for an indefinite period. Such officials were formerly called dictators — an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by

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672 force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated 82
with power and was the first man, so far as I know, holding
675 supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down volun- 79
tarily and to declare that he would render an account of his
stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And
so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as
a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home
unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still
remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amaze-
ment at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed
to call for an accounting, or entertained other good feeling
toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been bene-
ficial to the state. Thus there was a cessation of factions
for a short time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for
the evils which Sulla had wrought.

4. After his death the troubles broke out afresh and
705 continued until Gaius Cæsar, who had held the command 49
in Gaul by election for some years, was ordered by the
Senate to lay down his command. He charged that it was
not the wish of the Senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who
had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to
depose him. So he sent a proposal that both should retain
their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity,
or that Pompey should dismiss his forces also and live as a
private citizen under the laws in like manner with him-
self. Both requests being refused, he marched from Gaul
against Pompey in the Roman territory, entered it, put
him to flight, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant
706 victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to 48
Egypt. After Pompey had been slain by the Egyptians
Cæsar set to work on the affairs of Egypt and remained
there until he had settled the dynasty of that country. Then
he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his
principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on ac-
count of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without
disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute him about
anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life.
710 Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, 44
envious of his great power and desiring to restore the gov-
ernment of their fathers, slew in the Senate this most popu-
lar man, who was also the one most experienced in the art

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710 of government. The people mourned for him greatly. 44
They scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. They
buried him in the middle of the forum and built a temple
on the place of his funeral pile, and offered sacrifice to him
as a god.

711 5. And now civil discord broke out again worse than 43
ever and increased enormously. Massacres, banishments,
and proscriptions of both senators and the so-called knights
took place straightway, including great numbers of both
classes, the chief of factions surrendering their enemies to
each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their
friends and brothers; so much does animosity toward rivals
overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events
the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been
their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepi-
dus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but after-
ward Cæsar from his relationship to the other Cæsar and
adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell
to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octa-
718 vius, who was the superior in understanding and skill, first 36
deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had fallen to his lot, and
723 afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from 31
Antony all the provinces lying between Syria and the Adri-
atic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with
astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed
to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and
at that time the strongest possession of the successors of
Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the
Roman empire as it now stands. In consequence of these
727 exploits he was at once elevated to the rank of a deity while 27
still living, and was the first to be thus distinguished by the
Romans, and was called by them Augustus. He assumed
to himself an authority like Cæsar's over the country and
the subject nations, and even greater than Cæsar's, not
needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the
pretence of it. His government being strengthened by
time and mastery, and himself successful in all things and
revered by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the
supreme power in like manner after him.

6. Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into solidarity and monarchy. To

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727 show how these things came about I have written and compiled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. It is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Cæsar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, until the end of these conflicts, and the greatest achievement, the battle of Actium, fought by Octavius Cæsar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history. 27

CHAPTER I

The Roman Public Domain — The Licinian Law — The Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus — Struggle over its Enactment — Public Harangue of Gracchus — The Tribune Octavius vetoes the Bill — Gracchus deposes him — The Bill passed

7. The Romans, as they subdued the Italian nations successively in war, seized a part of their lands and built towns there, or established their own colonies in those already existing, and used them in place of garrisons. Of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers, or leased or sold it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a share of the yearly crops — a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most

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laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, and adding to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors, partly by purchase and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using for this purpose slaves as laborers and herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. The ownership of slaves itself brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because they were exempt from military service. Thus the powerful ones became enormously rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

8. For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. Not perceiving any remedy, as it was not easy, nor exactly just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a law was once
387 passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that 367
nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of this land,[1] or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that

[1] τῆσδε τῆς γῆς. "Of this land," the public land (*ager publicus*), not land in general. There has been much controversy over the question whether the agrarian laws of Rome were sumptuary laws intended to restrict the amount of landed property that one man could hold, or whether they applied only to the public domain, and this passage in Appian has played a large part in the controversy. M. Dureau de la Malle in his *Économie Politique des Romains* (ii. 282 *seq.*) held that they were true sumptuary laws and he cited numerous authorities in support of the position. The most thorough examination of this question has been made by Mr. Geo. Long in his *Decline of the Roman Republic* (i. 144–159). His argument is convincing to the effect that

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387 there should be a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on.[1] Those who held possession of lands under the law were required to take an oath to obey the law, and penalties were fixed for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater part disregarded it altogether. 367

621 9. At length Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustri- 133
ous man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and blood relations to the Romans, were declining little by little in pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was

these laws applied only to the public lands. This is the opinion also of Niebuhr, Mommsen, and Duruy. It may therefore be considered settled that they were not sumptuary laws and did not limit the amount of land a man might acquire by purchase, inheritance, or gift. The word *possessio* in Roman law meant not ownership, but a seizing or sitting upon land. A Possessor was a squatter. The law referred to by Appian as having been formerly passed with difficulty was the Licinian law, B.C. 367. The Roman jugerum was about two-thirds of an acre.

[1] *τὰ γιγνόμενα*, "what was going on." Mr. Long in his history (i. 161 and 166) construes this phrase by the word "produce," meaning that it was the duty of the freemen employed on the farms to keep account of the crops and make reports to the public authorities so that the state might receive its due share. This may be the true meaning, but it should be observed that in the preceding section where the author speaks of the yearly produce he uses the words *τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν*. According to the other interpretation it was the duty of the freemen to keep watch and make reports to the masters in order to prevent servile insurrection.

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621 neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicis- 133
situdes and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the present occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by triumvirs, who should be changed annually.

10. This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor — that they had been reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-tempered and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they attached them-

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621 selves to turbulent crowds, and waited for the voting on the new law, some trying to prevent its enactment by all means, and others supporting it in every possible way. In addition to personal interest the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the day of the comitia. 133

11. What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not wealth, but an increase of efficient population. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to divide among the common people what belonged to them in common; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans had acquired most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world, but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not, by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since they were receiving an ample compensation for labor expended in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by

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621 reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the scribe to read the proposed law. 133

12. Marcus Octavius, another tribune, who had been induced by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the tribune's veto always prevailed), ordered the scribe to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day. Then he stationed a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the scribe with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again vetoed he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. There, as he had only a few followers and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the magistracy of Octavius, to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold his office. And so he did, for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus distributed the pebbles to take a vote on him first. When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from this veto. As he would not yield, the votes of the other tribes were taken. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first angrily sustained this motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent this most pious work, so useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote.

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621 Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private 133
citizen and slunk away unobserved.[1]

13. Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should be put in the lead with his whole family. Gracchus became immensely popular by reason of the law and was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling bitterly, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had opened such a fountain of discord in Italy.

Chapter II

New Election of Tribunes — Riot on the Capitoline Hill — Death of Gracchus

14. At the advent of summer the notices for the election of tribunes were given, and as the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich were earnestly promoting the election of those most inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be reelected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the comitia, but as they were occupied with their harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he had incurred for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The

[1] This was an unconstitutional proceeding. Under Roman law a tribune could not be deprived of his office during his official term.

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621 rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to turn over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again for all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he clothed himself in black, while still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he were about to perish at the hands of his enemies. 133

15. The poor were moved with deep sorrow, and rightly so, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free state under equal laws, but were reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who had incurred such danger and suffering in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed in case of a fight. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who saw it, and a resort to violence in consequence. Some of the partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded themselves, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the lictors and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumors. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was be-

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621 lieved because none of them could be seen. Others said 133
that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

16. Under these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides.[1] It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril. Although this resource had been found most useful in former times few people remembered it, either then or later. After reaching the decision that they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save the country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who looked on, or in order to conceal from the gods what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded to the reputation of a foremost citizen, for they saw the Senate following with him. The latter wrested clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or with fragments of broken benches or other apparatus that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice.[2] In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself was caught[3] near the temple, and was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber.

17. So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of the Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who subjugated Carthage. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design, which, however, he pursued in too violent a manner. This shocking affair, the first that was perpe-

[1] The temple to the goddess of Public Faith was on the Capitoline hill.

[2] The Capitoline hill was flanked by the Tarpeian Rock.

[3] Reading ἁλώμενος, which Mendelssohn prefers instead of εἱλούμενος.

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621 trated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels 133
thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that everything had turned out for them exactly as they wished. These things took place at the time when Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia.

Chapter III

Litigation under the Law of Gracchus — Scipio Æmilianus employed in it — His Mysterious Death — Gaius Gracchus elected Tribune — He gives the Judicial Power to Knights — Demands Roman Citizenship for Italian Allies — Sails to Africa with Fulvius Flaccus — Rioting in Rome after his Return — Death of Gracchus and Flaccus

622 18. After Gracchus was slain Appius Claudius died, and 132
Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field had been bought adjoining an old one, or wherever a division of land had been made with allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the measuring had not been carefully done when the land was first taken from the enemy. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the

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622 parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of de- 132
markation between them had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy of ascertainment. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settled down in other people's.

625 19. The Italian allies who complained of these disturb- 129
ances, and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very valiant services in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and held that these causes ought not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be turned over to others. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took hold of the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they relapsed into idleness. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw him, in whose favor they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against them. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and was about to inaugurate armed strife and bloodshed for that purpose.

20. When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which he intended to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who was married to Scipio, and was unloved and unloving because she

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625 was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus 129
should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves, who were subjected to torture, testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death. So died Scipio, and although he had been of immense service to the Roman power he was not honored with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as an incident of the sedition of Gracchus.[1]

21. Those who were in possession of the lands even after these events postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some thought that the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, ought to be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favor, they should no longer quarrel about the
629 land. The Italians were glad to accept this, because they 125
preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the Senate was angry at the proposal to make their subjects
630 equal citizens with themselves. For this reason the attempt 124
was abandoned, and the people, who had been so long in the hope of acquiring land, became disheartened. While they were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made himself agreeable to them as a triumvir, offered himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been silent for some time on the subject of the fate of his brother, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he an-

[1] It is uncertain whether Scipio was murdered or not. Cicero alludes to the event in one of his letters (*Ad Fam.* ix. 21), in which, speaking of one Gaius Carbo, he says that he was thought to have laid violent hands upon Africanus. Velleius says that marks of strangulation were found on his neck, yet adds in the same paragraph that most people thought he died a natural death.

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nounced himself as a candidate for the office of tribune.
631 As soon as he was elected to this distinguished position he 123
began to lay plots against the Senate, and proposed that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense, which had not been customary before. Thus he got the leadership of the people quickly by one measure of policy, in which he had the coöperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose from the whole number then in office.

632 22. Thus Gaius Gracchus became tribune a second time. 122
Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manœuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He transferred the courts of justice, which had become discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the one who subdued Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain against them were still present, going around uttering hateful accusations against them. The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all. This saying of Gracchus has been even more confirmed by experience in the course of events. This power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights like rulers over them and put senators on the same level with subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes, and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being

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632 in the hands of the knights, and the honor only remaining 122 with the Senate. The knights went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and having once tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done.[1] They suborned accusers against the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by concert of action and partly by force and violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones.

23. Gracchus made long roads throughout Italy and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies.[2] He also called on the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to their blood relations. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased

[1] Cicero in his first oration against Verres (xiii.) says that there was no bribery of judges while the knights held that office, but inasmuch as he was trying to shame the senators against taking Verres' money, it would not be safe to accept the statement as literally true.

[2] The founding of colonies, which was originally a method of guarding the frontier, now became a method of providing for the poorer citizens.

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632 with this that they began to scoff at the laws proposed by 122
Gracchus.

24. Having lost the favor of the rabble, Gracchus sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. A colony had been voted to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a respite from demagogism. They marked out a town for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with curses to sheep-pasturage forever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favor with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate
633 summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal 121
the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony.

25. Now the people were assembled, and Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Disturbed by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meeting-place of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, seized him by the hand, either because he had heard something or suspected something, or was moved to speak to him for some other reason, and asked him to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the

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633 man a piercing look. Then one of his party, although no 121
signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the very sharp glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favor to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate. Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed. Nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. Gracchus and Flaccus were nonplussed and, having lost the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened home, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum throughout the night as though some calamity were impending. Opimius, one of the consuls, who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to be stationed at the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

26. When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. They ran through the city offering freedom to the slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in peace. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, tell what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent an armed force against the Gracchans. Gracchus fled across the river by the Sublician bridge,[1] with one slave,

[1] This well-known construction is called the "wooden bridge" in Appian's history. The Romans called it "Sublicius pons" because it rested on wooden piles.

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633 to a grove where he presented his throat to the slave, as 121 he was on the point of being arrested. Flaccus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them. The people plundered their houses. Opimius arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled. He allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration was performed in behalf of the city for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

CHAPTER IV

Failure of the Agrarian Law — The Killing of Nonius — Division of Gallic Land — The Sedition of Saturninus — Banishment of Metellus — Murder of Memmius — Punishment of Saturninus — Reign of Terror

27. So the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end. Not long afterward a law was enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about which they had quarrelled; for even this had been forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. Presently the rich bought the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Borius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed. This distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not serve to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus (most excellent and useful if it could have been carried out) was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was

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633 abolished at the instance of another tribune. So the plebeians lost everything. Whence resulted a still further decline in the numbers of both citizens and soldiers, and in the revenue from the land and the distribution thereof; and about fifteen years after the enactment of the law of Gracchus, the laws themselves fell into abeyance by reason of the slackness of the judicial proceedings.[1] 121

28. About this time the consul Scipio [Nasica] demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also the source of new seditions or because he thought it not altogether desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Grecian pleasures. The censor, Quintus Cæcelius Metellus, attempted to degrade Glaucia, a senator, and Apuleius Saturninus, who had already been a tribune, on account of their disgraceful mode of life, but was not able to do so because his col-
653 league would not agree to it. Accordingly Saturninus, a 101
little later, in order to have revenge on Metellus, became a candidate for the tribuneship again, seizing the occasion when Glaucia held the office of prætor and presided over the election of the tribunes; but Nonius, a man of noble birth, who used much plainness of speech in reference to Saturninus and reproached Glaucia bitterly, was chosen for the office. As they feared lest he should punish them as tribune, they made a rush upon him with a crowd of ruffians just as he was going away from the comitia, pursued him into a certain inn, and stabbed him. As this murder had a pitiful and shocking aspect, the adherents of Glaucia came together early the next morning, before the people had assembled, and declared Saturninus elected tribune. In this way the killing of Nonius was hushed up, since everybody was afraid to call Saturninus to account because he was a tribune.

654 29. Metellus was banished by them at the instigation of 100
Gaius Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, and was the secret enemy of Metellus. Thus they all helped each other. Saturninus brought forward a law to divide

[1] The meaning of the last sentence of Sec. 27 is doubtful. Schweighäuser suspected a lacuna. "Desperandum de totius enuntiati inde ab ὅθεν verbo vel emendatione vel enarratione," says Mendelssohn. I have followed the rendering of M. Combes-Dounous.

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654 the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe lately driven out 100
by Marius) had seized in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, and which was considered as no longer Gallic but Roman territory. It was provided also in this law that if the people should enact it the senators should take an oath within five days to obey it, and that any one who should refuse to do so should be expelled from the Senate and should pay a fine of twenty talents for the benefit of the people. Thus they intended to punish those who should take it with a bad grace, and especially Metellus, who was too high-spirited to submit to the oath. Such was the proposed law. Saturninus appointed the day for holding the comitia and sent messengers to summon from the country districts those in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies the city people were not pleased with it.

30. Sedition broke out in the comitia. Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the laws proposed by the tribunes were assaulted by Saturninus and driven away from the rostra. The city folks exclaimed that thunder was heard in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the adherents of Saturninus persisted nevertheless, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rustics. The latter were rallied by Saturninus; they attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them, and passed the law. When this was done Marius, in his capacity as consul, forthwith proposed to the Senate that they consider concerning taking the oath. Knowing that Metellus was a man of fixed opinion and firm in whatever he might believe or commit himself to, he gave his own opinion publicly, but deceitfully, saying that he would never willingly take this oath himself. When Metellus had agreed with him in this, and the others had praised them both, Marius adjourned the Senate. On the fifth day thereafter (the last day prescribed in the law for taking the oath) he called them together in haste about the tenth hour, saying that he was afraid of the people because they were so zealous for the law. He saw a way, however, to avoid it, and he proposed the following trick — to swear

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654 that they would obey the law as far as it was a law, and thus at once disperse the country people by stratagem. Afterward it could be easily shown that this thing, which had been enacted by violence and in spite of thunder, contrary to the custom of their ancestors, was not a law. 100

31. After speaking thus he did not wait for the result, but while all were in silent amazement at the plot, and confused because there was no time to be lost and no opportunity for thinking, he rose and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quæstors were accustomed to administer oaths, and took the oath first with his friends. The rest followed his example, as each one feared for his own safety. Metellus alone refused to swear, but stood fearlessly by his first determination. Saturninus proceeded against him at once on the next day. He sent an officer for him and dragged him out of the senate-house. As the other tribunes defended him Glaucia and Saturninus hastened to the country people and told them that they would never get the land, and that the law would not be executed, unless Metellus were banished. They proposed a decree of banishment against him and directed the consuls to interdict fire and water and shelter to him, and appointed a day for the ratification of this decree. Great was the indignation of the city people, who constantly escorted Metellus, carrying daggers. He thanked them and praised them for their good intentions, but said that he could not allow any danger to befall the country on his account. After saying this he withdrew from the city. Saturninus got the decree ratified, and Marius made proclamation that it was a part of the law.

32. In this way was Metellus, a most admirable man, sent into banishment. Thereupon Saturninus was made tribune a third time and he had for a colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus. The multitude supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent. The aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrious man by far, and Glaucia and Saturninus were fearful of the result. So they sent a

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654 gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election 100 was going on. They fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all. The assembly was broken up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor sense of shame remained. The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Saturninus, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quæstor, seized the Capitol. The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Saturninus, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death, Marius shut them up in the senate-house as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext. They tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quæstor, a tribune, and a prætor, who were still wearing their insignia of office.

33. Very many others were swept out of existence in this sedition. Among them was that other tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, and who perished on that first day of his magistracy. Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the tribunician office, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now committed such outrages and suffered such indignities. When the party of Saturninus was destroyed the Senate and people clamored for the recall of Metellus, but Publius Furius, a tribune who was not the son of a free citizen but of a freedman, boldly resisted them. Not even Metellus, the son of Metellus, who besought him in the presence of the people with tears in his eyes, and threw himself at his feet, could move him. From this spectacle the son ever afterward bore the name of Metellus Pius. The following year Furius was called to account for his obstinacy by the new tribune, Gaius Canuleius. The people did not wait

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655 for the argument, but tore Furius in pieces. Thus every 99
year some new deed of abomination was committed in the forum. Metellus was allowed to return, and it is said that a whole day was not sufficient for the greetings of those who went to meet him at the city gates. Such was the third civil strife (that of Saturninus) which succeeded those of the two Gracchi, and such results it brought to the Romans.

CHAPTER V

Origin of the Social War — Measures of Livius Drusus — Murder of Drusus — Continued Seditions — Revolt of the Italians — The Social War — Leaders on Either Side — Various Battles — The Consul Rutilius killed

34. While they were thus occupied the so-called Social War, in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew to great proportions rapidly, and extinguished the Roman seditions for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by playing the demagogue, but by employing whole armies against each other. I have treated it in this history because it had its origin in a Roman sedition and resulted in another one much worse.
629 It began in this way. Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship 125
first openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the hegemony instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in the course of which his consulship expired, but he obtained the tribuneship after that and managed to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with whose coöperation he brought forward other measures in favor of the Italians. When they were both killed, as I have previously related, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should suffer such calamities while working for their political advantage.

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663 35. After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man of most illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at their urgent request, that he would bring forward a new law to give them citizenship. They desired this especially because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavored to bring to an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice on both of them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number, he brought forward a law that an equal number should be added to their enrolment from the knights, to be chosen according to merit, and that the law courts should be made up from all of these hereafter. He provided in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint. This was the plan that he contrived for both of them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which ones seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all were they angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been ere this entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned. 91

36. Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in

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663 hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the 91
colonies. The Italians, in whose interest chiefly Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians,[1] and when they were summoned to the city, as it was thought, by the consuls, ostensibly for the purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually, as is believed, for the purpose of killing him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lighted. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell down while uttering the words. A shoemaker's knife was found thrust into his hip.

37. Thus was Drusus also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship. They hoped to bring all the leaders under malicious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when their enemies were out of the way they should be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court, made a brilliant defence of his administration of public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He, too, departed from the

[1] Until the end of the third century B.C. the word "Italy" applied only to that part of the peninsula south of Etruria and Umbria.

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663 city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, 91
the one who had conquered Greece, was basely ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He passed the remainder of his life at Delos.

38. As this wickedness prevailed more and more against the best citizens, the people were grieved because they were deprived all at once of so many men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the killing of Drusus and of the reason alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer bearable that those who were laboring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with all their might. They sent envoys to each other secretly, formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith. The Romans were in ignorance of these facts for a long time, being preoccupied by the judicial proceedings and the seditions in the city. When they heard what was going on they sent men around to the towns, choosing those who were best acquainted with each, to collect information quietly. One of these saw a young man who was being taken as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, and informed Servilius, the proconsul in those parts. (It appears that there were proconsuls at that time governing the various parts of Italy; Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward when he held the supreme power, but it did not long survive him.) Servilius hastened to Asculum and indulged in very menacing language to the people, who were celebrating a festival, and they put him to death, supposing that the plot was discovered. They also killed Fonteius, his legate (for so they call those of the senatorial order who accompany the governors of provinces as assistants). After these were slain none of the other Romans in Asculum were spared. The inhabitants fell upon them, slaughtered them all, and plundered their goods.

664 39. When the revolt broke out all the neighboring 90
peoples showed their preparedness at the same time, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; and after them the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pom-

Y.R. 664 peiians, the Venusini, the Apulians, the Lucanians, and B.C. 90
the Samnites, all of whom had been hostile to the Romans before; also all the rest extending from the river Liris (which is now, I think, the Liternus) to the extremity of the Adriatic gulf, both inland and sea-coast. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that although they had coöperated in all ways with the Romans in building up the empire, the latter had not been willing to admit their helpers to citizenship. The Senate answered sternly that if they repented of what they had done they could send ambassadors, otherwise not. The Italians, in despair of any other remedy, went on with their preparations for war. Besides the soldiers which were kept for guards at each town, they had forces in common amounting to about 100,000 foot and horse. The Romans sent an equal force against them, made up of their own citizens and of the Italian peoples who were still in alliance with them.

40. The Romans were led by the consuls Sextus Julius Cæsar and Publius Rutilius Lupus, for in this great civil war both consuls marched forth at once, leaving the gates and walls in charge of others, as was customary in cases of danger arising at home or very near by. When the war was found to be complicated and many-sided, they sent their most renowned men as lieutenant-generals to aid the consuls: to Rutilius, Gnæus Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, Quintus Cæpio, Gaius Perpenna, Gaius Marius, and Valerius Messala; to Sextus Cæsar, Publius Lentulus, a brother of Cæsar himself, Titus Didius, Licinius Crassus, Cornelius Sulla, and Marcellus. All these served under the consuls and the country was divided among them. The consuls visited all parts of the field of operations, and the Romans sent them additional forces continually, knowing that it was a great conflict. The Italians had generals for their united forces besides those of the separate towns. The chief commanders were Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompædius, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius, Gaius Judacilius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Cato. They divided their army in equal parts, took their positions against the Roman generals, performed many notable exploits, and

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664 suffered many disasters. The most memorable events of each class I shall here summarize. 90

41. Vettius Cato defeated Sextus Julius, killed 2000 of his men, and marched against Æsernia, which adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who were in command here, escaped in the disguise of slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presenteius defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum.

42. Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but as their officers refused the proposal the latter were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. In conjunction with Stabias he captured Minturnæ, and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into the military service. Then he plundered the entire country around Nuceria. The towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerræ. Sextus Cæsar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and certain Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced toward Acerræ. Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Cæsar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to their own king, so that Cæsar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. Papius attacked him rashly, and had already made a breach in his fortified camp when Cæsar debouched with his horse through the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Cæsar

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664 withdrew from Acerræ. Canusia and Venusia and many 90
other towns in Apulia sided with Judacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his army.

43. The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built bridges over the river Liris at no great distance from each other. Vettius Cato pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines around the bridge of Rutilius. Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he pushed away those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp of Cato, which was guarded by only a small force, so that Cato was obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves.

Chapter VI

Defeat and Death of Q. Cæpio — Defeat of Sextus Cæsar — Sulla defeats the Marsians — Death of Judacilius — The Etruscans and Umbrians admitted to Citizenship — Victories won by Sulla — Fighting in Apulia — End of the Social War — Uprising against Usury — A Prætor murdered

44. There was no successor to Rutilius in the consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Cæsar did not have leisure to go to the city and hold the comitia. The Senate

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664 appointed G. Marius and Q. Cæpio to command the forces 90
of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Pompædius, fled as a pretended deserter to this Cæpio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Cæpio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader. Cæpio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where an ambush had been laid, Pompædius ran up to the top of a hill as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Cæpio and most of his force in pieces. The Senate joined the rest of Cæpio's army to that of Marius.

45. While Sextus Cæsar was passing through a rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and defeated him in it. He retreated on a litter, as he was sick, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge, and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors. He escaped to Teanum with difficulty and there he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reënforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerræ, which was still besieged by Papius, but when their camps were pitched opposite each other neither of them dared to attack the other.

46. Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans. The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again

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664 and prepared to march against the enemy, but did not 90
dare to take the offensive or to begin a battle. They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians."

47. Judacilius and T. Lafrenius and P. Ventidius united their forces near Mount Falerinus and defeated Gnæus Pompeius and pursued him to the city of Firmum. Then they went different ways. Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement. Having learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius around to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were having a doubtful fight when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

48. Asculum was the native town of Judacilius, and as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless Judacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all of his enemies, who had been at variance with him before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and had a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Judacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country. Sextus Cæsar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the

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664 enemy at some place while they were changing camping- 90
places, killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of a disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Bæbius his successor.

49. While these events were transpiring on the Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and Umbria and other neighboring peoples on the other side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by enemies for want of guards, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumæ to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favor the Senate made the faithful more faithful, confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the thirty-five existing tribes, lest they should outvote the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict.

665 50. The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before they 89
learned of the change of sentiment among the Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a long and difficult road. Gnæus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter, living on acorns; and half of them perished. The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompeiian mountains Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him. Sulla did not tolerate this

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665 insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his 89
own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reënforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic reenforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and challenged any Roman to single combat. A Mauritanian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became panic-stricken and fled. Cluentius' line of battle was thus broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand their ground, but fled in disorder to Nola. Sulla followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting bravely.

51. Then Sulla moved against the Hirpini and attacked the town of Æculanum. The inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consideration. He understood the trick and gave them one hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls, which were made of wood, and at the expiration of the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because it had not been delivered up voluntarily but by necessity. He spared the other towns that gave themselves up, and in this way the entire population of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus, the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by another circuitous route where his coming was not expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus was wounded and took refuge with a few followers in Æsernia. Sulla destroyed his camp and moved against Bovianum, where the common council of the rebels was held. The city had three towers. While the inhabitants were looking at Sulla from one of these he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the others they could, and to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an

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665 attack in front and, after a severe fight of three hours, took the city. These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to solicit the consulship. 89

52. Gnæus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman prætor, advanced against and burned Salapia. He received the surrender of Cannæ and laid siege to Canusium. He had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief. After great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannæ. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was flying toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Pœdiculi, and within two days received their surrender.

666 53. Cæcilius Metellus, his successor in the prætorship, 88
attacked the Apulians and overcame them in battle. Pompædius, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life. The survivors joined Metellus separately. Such was the course of events throughout Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged with violence thus far and until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except the Lucanians and the Samnites. These also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. They were each enrolled in tribes of their own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

665 54. About the same time dissensions arose in the city 89
between debtors and creditors, since the latter exacted the money due them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon any one doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning

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665 the Persians considered lending itself as having a tendency 89 to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off the payment by causing war and civil commotion. Some indeed threatened to visit the legal penalty on the interest-takers. The prætor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the conflict of law and custom before the judges. The lenders, exasperated that the old law should be revived, killed the prætor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him. He dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta. They got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a certain tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as prætor, and pouring out the libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day, in the midst of the forum, by the side of the sacrificial offerings. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free person, and freedom to any slave, and impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murderers of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

CHAPTER VII

The Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla — The Command against Mithridates — Sulla marches against the City — Captures it — Flight of the Marians — Changes introduced by Sulla — Rome under Martial Law — Narrow Escape of Marius — He passes over to Africa — Killing of Quintus Pompeius

55. Hitherto the murders and seditions had been merely intestine squabbles. Afterward the chiefs of factions as-

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665 sailed each other with great armies, according to the usage 89
of war, and the country lay as a prize between them. The beginning and origin of these contentions came about directly after the Social War, in this wise. When Mithridates, king of Pontus and of other nations, invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and that part of Asia adjacent to those countries, as I have related in the preceding book, the consul Sulla was chosen by lot to the command of Asia and the Mithridatic war, but was still in Rome. Marius thought that this would be an easy and lucrative war and he desired the command of it. So he prevailed upon the tribune, Publius Sulpicius, by many promises, to help him obtain it. He also led the new Italian citizens, who had very little power in the elections, to hope that they should be distributed among all the tribes — not putting forward anything concerning his own advantage, but with the expectation of employing them as loyal servants in his every
666 attempt. Sulpicius straightway brought forward a law for 88
this purpose. If it were enacted Marius and Sulpicius would have everything they wanted, because the new citizens far outnumbered the old ones. The old citizens saw this and opposed the new ones with all their might. They fought each other with sticks and stones, and the evil increased continually. The consuls, becoming apprehensive, as the day for voting on the law drew near, proclaimed a vacation of many days' duration, such as was customary on festal occasions, in order to postpone the voting and the danger.

56. Sulpicius would not wait for the vacation's end. He ordered his faction to come to the forum with concealed daggers and to do whatever the exigency might require, and not to spare the consuls themselves upon occasion. When everything was in readiness he denounced the vacation as illegal and ordered the consuls, Cornelius Sulla and Quintus Pompeius, to put an end to it at once, in order to proceed to the enactment of laws. A tumult arose, and those who had been armed drew their daggers and threatened to kill the consuls, who were making opposition. Finally Pompeius escaped secretly and Sulla withdrew on the pretext of taking advice. In the meantime the son of Pompeius, who was the son-in-law of Sulla, and who was

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666 speaking his mind rather freely, was killed by the Sulpicians. 88
Presently Sulla returned and annulled the vacation, but hurried away to Capua, where his army was stationed, in order to cross over to Asia to take command of the war against Mithridates, for he knew nothing as yet of the designs against himself. As the vacation was annulled and Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius enacted his law, and Marius, for whose sake it was done, was forthwith chosen commander of the war against Mithridates in place of Sulla.

57. When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war. He called the army together in a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this kind of a war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they spoke boldly what Sulla had in his mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith, but all of his superior officers, except one quæstor, left him and hastened to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from her tyrants," he replied. He gave the same answer to a second and a third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet him and praised him for what he had done, for Pompeius was delighted, and coöperated with him in every way. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, in the guise of envoys from the Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could consider of the business in hand. Sulla and Pompeius under-

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666 stood their game perfectly and promised to comply, but as 88
soon as the envoys were returning they followed them.

58. Sulla took possession of the Cœlian gate and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Sublician bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder Sulla entered the city, being in appearance and in fact an enemy. The inhabitants round about tried to fight him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders near the Æsquiline forum, and here a battle took place between the contending parties, the first that was regularly fought in Rome with trumpet and signal under the rules of war, and not at all in the similitude of a faction fight. To such extremity of evil had the recklessness of party strife progressed among them. Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks. Out of regard for their general and fear of ignominy if they should abandon their standard, they rallied at once. Sulla ordered up fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the so-called Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly against these new-comers, and as they feared lest they should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their labors. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had coöperated with them.

59. Sulla advanced to the so-called Via Sacra and there, in sight of everybody, punished certain soldiers who had plundered persons on the road. He stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops. They summoned the people to an assembly at daybreak and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had done what they

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666 had done as a matter of necessity. They proposed that no 88
question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago. Also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures — namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes — there would no longer be any starting-point for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical. They enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had fallen into contempt for that reason. They annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius after the vacation had been proclaimed by the consuls, as being illegal.

60. Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and contention to murder, and from murder to open war, and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country.[1] From this time the civil dissensions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. Now Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times, and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Gnæus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus, Marcus Lætorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, fled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, had been voted enemies of the Roman people, and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them before the consuls, and their goods

[1] This is what Mommsen aptly terms "the interference of the sabre with the constitutional rule of the bludgeon."

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666 had been confiscated. Detectives were in pursuit of these men. They caught Sulpicius and killed him. 88

61. Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnæ without a companion or a servant. While he was resting in a secluded house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. It is said that as the Gaul was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and that Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, "Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?" The Gaul turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." As the magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, so now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. It was said that while he was a boy seven young eaglets alighted on his breast, and that the soothsayers predicted that he would attain the highest office seven times.

62. Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnæ sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves. Hearing a noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves. Hearing a somewhat louder noise, he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, he cut the rope, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was driven to an island where he found a ship navigated by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing there by the governor, Sextius, because he was an enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, along the shore of Numidia. While he was sailing thither he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Læto-

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665 rius, and others, including the son of Marius himself, who 88
had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal, prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up. They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity.

63. In Rome Sulla, who had been the first one to seize the city by force of arms, and was now able perhaps to wield supreme power, having rid himself of his enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed his functions as consul. The faction under banishment, especially the rich ones, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of their male relatives from exile. They spared neither pains nor expense to this end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls when they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived. Sulla's army furnished ample protection for himself even after he should cease to be consul, since he had been voted commander of the war against Mithridates. The people commiserated the fears of the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, for his personal safety, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnæus Pompeius. When the latter learned this fact he was greatly displeased. Nevertheless he received Quintus in the camp, and, after transacting the necessary business with him the following day, withdrew for a short time as a private person, but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him. After the guilty ones had fled, Gnæus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the killing of a consul contrary to law. Notwithstanding his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them.[1]

[1] The *Epitome* of Livy (lxxvii.) says that Gnæus Pompeius the proconsul procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius the consul, when the latter came to supersede him.

CHAPTER VIII

Attempted Revolution of Cinna — Cinna expelled from the City — Raises an Army and returns — Return of Marius — They besiege Rome, and cut off its Supplies — The City surrenders — Massacre of Citizens — Heads exposed in the Forum — Death of Marcus Antonius the Orator — Sulla's Friends killed and his Property confiscated — Death of Merula and Catulus — Death of Marius

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64. When the murder of Pompeius became known in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them
667 with him even by night. He did not remain long in the 87
city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia. The friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla's successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favor of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna coöperated with the new ones. It was supposed that he had been bribed with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers. While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd, and separated them. He struck terror into them, pushed on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away. His companions fell upon the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the city gates.

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667 65. Cinna, who had been emboldened by the numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, ran through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns near by, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur, Præneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans, certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger. The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter (*flamen Dialis*). It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices. Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, the officers of which, and the senators who were present, he courted. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for your sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favor of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls? If you do not confirm what you bestow, you will be robbed whenever you give your decision." 87

66. He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rent his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay a long time. With tears in their eyes they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, as he was consul still, and lead them wherever he would. At their instance the officers came forward and took the mili-

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667 tary oath to support Cinna, and administered it each to the soldiers under him. When he had been confirmed in this way he traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, because it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom a stable form of government was irksome, came and joined him. While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent around to the towns that were still faithful and also to the neighboring Gauls. They also summoned Gnæus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to come in haste to the aid of his country. 87

67. Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of these transactions he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters from Rome. Filthy and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, and also seeming, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the voting. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and joined Cinna, who received him gladly by reason of their common interest in the present enterprise. After their armies were joined they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and divided their forces in three parts: Cinna and Carbo opposite the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured Ostia and plundered it. Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

68. The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to call Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They ordered Cæcilius Metellus, who was carrying on the remainder of the Social War against the Samnites, to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country.

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667 Metellus would not agree to what the Samnites demanded, 87
and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the hill called the Janiculum, had once received a favor from Marius which the latter now reminded him of, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunder-storm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility.

69. After Marius had stopped the passage of food-supplies from the sea, or by way of the river above, he hastened to attack the neighboring towns where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some also that were delivered up to him by treachery. Having cut off their supplies by land in this manner, he advanced boldly against Rome, by the so-called Appian Way, before any other supplies were brought to them by another route. He and Cinna, and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius, halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and went into camp. Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus had taken position against them at the Alban Mount, where they observed the enemy's movements. Although they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk hastily their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds around the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed. Anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of corn should be protracted, it changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. The latter asked them whether they had come to see him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of freemen flocked to Cinna, some from fear of famine and others

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667 because they had been previously favorable to his party and 87
had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn.

70. Now Cinna began to despise his enemies and drew near to the wall, halting at the distance of a stone's throw, where he encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favorable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of anybody's death. He directed, however, that Octavius, who had gone around and entered the city by another gate, should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against Cinna's will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood beside the curule chair silent, but showed by the asperity of his countenance how much murder he would commit. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that all the things that Cinna had subscribed to were the doings of Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for the banished to enter. Forthwith the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

71. Accordingly Cinna and Marius entered the city and everybody received them with fear. Straightway they began to plunder without restraint the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted, that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore

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667 his robes of office, attended by lictors as a consul. Here 87
he was attacked by Censorinus with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him a horse, but he disdained even to arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads of others who were slain were suspended there. This shocking custom, which began with Octavius, was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent intestine massacres. Now the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. After the knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to hideous sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eye, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a monstrous spectacle.

72. Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, two brothers, Atilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, Gaius Numatorius, and Marcus Bæbius were arrested in the street and killed. Crassus was pursued with his son. He anticipated the pursuers by killing his son, but was himself killed by them. Marcus Antonius, the orator, fled to a certain country place, where he was concealed and entertained by the farmer, who sent his slave to a tavern for wine of a better quality than he was in the habit of buying. The innkeeper asked him why he wanted the better quality. The slave whispered the reason to him, bought the wine, and went back. The seller ran and told Marius. When Marius heard this he sprang up with joy as though he would rush to do the deed himself, but he was restrained by his friends. A tribune was despatched to the house, who sent some soldiers upstairs, whom Antonius, a delightful speaker, entertained with a long discourse. He moved their pity by recounting many and various things, until the tribune, who was at a loss to know what had happened, rushed into the house and,

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667 finding his soldiers listening to Antonius, killed him while 87
he was still addressing them, and sent his head to Marius.

73. Cornutus concealed himself in a hut and was saved by his slaves in an ingenious way. They found a dead body and placed it on a funeral pile, and when the searchers came they set fire to it and said that they were burning the body of their master, who had hanged himself. In this way he was saved by his slaves. Quintus Ancharius watched his opportunity till Marius was about to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the temple would be a more propitious place for him. But when he approached and saluted Marius, the latter, who was just beginning the sacrifice, ordered the guards to kill him in the Capitol forthwith; and his head, with that of the orator Antonius, and those of others who had been consuls and prætors, was exposed in the forum. Burial was not permitted to any of the slain. The bodies of such men as these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was also much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's consulship. All of Sulla's friends were put to death, his house was razed to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Search was made for his wife and children, but they escaped. Altogether no sort of calamity was wanting, either general or particular.

74. In addition to the foregoing and under the similitude of legal authority, and after so many had been put to death without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius once saved. It was charged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and was bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under arrest after they had been cited four

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667 times at certain fixed intervals), but Merula had opened his 87 own veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen's cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself, broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met on the street. Some of them attacked their own masters particularly. After Cinna had forbidden this several times, but without avail, he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all. Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for their repeated treachery to their masters.

668 75. The following year Cinna was chosen consul for the 86
second time, and Marius for the seventh time; to whom, notwithstanding his banishment and proscription, the augury of the seven young eaglets was yet fulfilled. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaccus lost his life Cinna chose Carbo as his successor.

Chapter IX

Sulla ends the Mithridatic War — Prepares to return to Rome — Death of Cinna — Negotiations with Sulla — Sulla in Italy — Terror in the City — Marshalling the Forces against Sulla — Omens and Prodigies —Battle at Canusium

669 76. Sulla now hastened his return to meet his enemies, 85
having quickly finished all his business with Mithridates, as I have already related. Within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and well-dis-

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669 ciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits. 85
He had abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took their leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns, pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They hastily repaired the ships, and recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded the coast, and, with fear and trembling, made rapid preparations in every way.

77. Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of superiority concerning himself. He recounted what he had done in Africa in the Jugurthine war while he was still quæstor, what he had done as lieutenant in the Cimbric war, as prætor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations that had been under Mithridates and that he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received the helpless ones and supported them in their affliction. In return for which he said that he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, for them and for the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he made no complaint against them. When the contents of the letters became known fear fell upon all, and they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that if he wanted any security he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not come back to the city directly to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments

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669 on shipboard to Liburnia,[1] as they expected to meet Sulla there. 85

670 78. The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. The 84
next one encountered a storm and those who reached land went home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was angry and called them to an assembly in order to coerce them. They, angry also and ready to defend themselves, assembled. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamor rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their swords and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia. As he was solicitous about the present state of things, he did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with urgency to hold an election for the choice of a colleague. When they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavorable he postponed it to another day. When that day came lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer solstice, and Carbo remained the sole consul.

79. Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly terms with the men who had committed such crimes. Still he would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that, as he had a devoted army, he could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was contemplating the exercise of supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the sacerdotal office, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever

[1] On the northern coast of Illyria.

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670 other honors he had previously held. He sent some of his 84
own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters. As soon as they learned from the Brundusians that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, they went back to Sulla without transacting their busi-
671 ness. He started with five legions of Italian troops and 83
6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about 40,000 men. He led them from the Piræus to Patræ, and then sailed from Patræ to Brundusium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favor he afterward gave them exemption from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. Then he put his army in motion and went forward.

80. He was met on the road by Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish up the Social War, but who did not return to the city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting the turn of events in Liguria, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus, came Pompey, who not long afterward was surnamed the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum on the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's most useful right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honor, though still very young; and they say he rose at the entrance of none other than this youth. After the war was finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. He took his start to greatness from this beginning, and was sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to

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671 him and had been driven out of the city with them. He 83
was now a suppliant, and offered his services to Sulla in any capacity he might desire.

81. Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and a sufficient number of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus, who were both proconsuls, marched in advance, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates, had at no time laid down his command, although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who had formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They despatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

82. Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had been consul the previous year (all of them moved by equal hatred of Sulla and more fearful than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, obtained an additional one from Italy, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They had 200 cohorts of 500 men each at first, and their forces were considerably augmented afterward. The sympathies of the people were much in favor of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt of the consuls, and who were believed to share their fears, coöperated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating

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671 merely prevention, correction, and alarm for them, but 83 destruction, death, confiscation, and complete extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everything. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives around the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be.

83. It seems, too, that divine Providence foretold to them the results of this war. Sights terrible and unexpected were observed by many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule gave birth to a colt. A pregnant woman was delivered of a viper instead of a baby. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans gave altogether too much attention to such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, burned down, and nobody could discover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to point to a succession of slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and a change in the form of government.

84. This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundusium, which was in the 174th Olympiad. Considering the magnitude of the work accomplished, its length was not great, compared with such wars in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell the eager participants in a short space of time. Nevertheless the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla's death. Battles, skirmishes, sieges, and fighting of all kinds were numerous throughout Italy, both regular engagements under the generals and by detachments, and all were noteworthy. The greatest and most remarkable of them I shall mention in this book. First of all Sulla and Metellus fought a battle against Norbanus at Canusium and killed 6000 of his men,

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671 while Sulla's loss was seventy, but many of his men were 83
wounded. Norbanus retreated to Capua.

Chapter X

Desertions to Sulla — Sertorius goes to Spain — Success of Sulla's Generals — Continued Victories of Sulla — Murders in Rome — Young Marius besieged in Præneste — More Desertions to Sulla — The Consul Carbo flees to Africa — Sulla's Victory at the City Gates — Surrender of Præneste — Suicide of Young Marius

85. While Sulla and Metellus were near Teanum, L. Scipio advanced against them with another army which was very downhearted and longed for peace. The Sullan faction knew this and sent envoys to Scipio to negotiate, not because they hoped or desired to come to an agreement, but because they expected to create dissensions in Scipio's army, which was in a state of dejection. In this they succeeded. Scipio took hostages for the armistice and marched down to the plain. Only three from each side came to the conference, hence what passed between them is not known. It seems that during the armistice Scipio sent Sertorius to his colleague, Norbanus, to communicate with him concerning the negotiation and that there was a cessation of hostilities while they were waiting for an answer. Sertorius on his way took possession of Suessa, which had espoused the side of Sulla, and Sulla made complaint of this to Scipio. The latter, either because he was privy to the affair or because he did not know what answer to make concerning the strange act of Sertorius, sent back Sulla's hostages. His army blamed the consuls for the unjustifiable seizure of Suessa during the armistice and for the surrender of the hostages, who were not demanded back, and made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would draw nearer. This he did and straightway they all went over *en masse*, so that the consul, Scipio, and his son Lucius, alone of the whole army, were left nonplussed in their tent, where they were captured by Sulla. That Scipio was not aware of a conspiracy of this kind, embracing his whole army, seems to me inexcusable in a general.

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671 86. When Sulla was unable to induce Scipio to change, he sent him away with his son unharmed. He also sent other envoys to Norbanus at Capua to open negotiations, either because he was apprehensive of the result (since the greater part of Italy still adhered to the consuls), or in order to play the same game on him that he had played on Scipio. As nobody came back and no answer was returned (for it seems that Norbanus feared lest he should be accused by his army in the same way that Scipio had been), Sulla again advanced, devastating all hostile territory. Norbanus did the same thing on other roads. Carbo hastened to the city and caused Metellus, and all the other senators who had joined Sulla, to be decreed public enemies. It was at this time that the Capitol was burned. Some attributed this deed to Carbo, others to the consuls, others to somebody sent by Sulla. It was a great mystery; nor am I able now to conjecture what caused the fire. Sertorius, who had been some time previously chosen prætor for Spain, after the taking of Suessa fled to his province, and as the former prætors refused to recognize his authority, he stirred up a great deal of trouble for the Romans there. In the meantime the forces of the consuls were constantly increasing from the major part of Italy, which still adhered to them, and also from the neighboring Gauls on the Po. Nor was Sulla idle. He sent messengers to all parts of Italy that he could reach, to collect troops by friendship, by fear, by money, and by promises. In this way the remainder of the summer was consumed on both sides. 83

672 87. The consuls for the following year were Papirius Carbo again and Marius, the nephew of the great Marius, then twenty-seven years of age. At first the winter and severe frost kept the combatants apart. At the beginning of spring, on the banks of the river Æsis, there was a severe engagement lasting from early morning till noon between Metellus and Carinas, Carbo's lieutenant. Carinas was put to flight after heavy loss, whereupon all the country thereabout seceded from the consuls to Metellus. Carbo came up with Metellus and besieged him until he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle near Præneste, when he led his forces back to Ariminum. Pompey hung on his rear doing damage. The defeat at 82

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672 Præneste was in this wise. Sulla captured the town of 82 Setia. Marius, who was encamped near by, drew a little farther away. When he arrived at the so-called sacred lake (Sacriportus) he gave battle and fought bravely. When his left wing began to give way five cohorts of foot and two of horse decided not to wait for open defeat, but lowered their standards together and went over to Sulla. This was the beginning of a terrible disaster to Marius. His shattered army fled to Præneste with Sulla in hot pursuit. The Prænestians gave shelter to those who arrived first, but when Sulla pressed upon them the gates were closed, and Marius was hauled up by ropes. There was another great slaughter around the walls by reason of the closing of the gates. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners. All the Samnites among them he killed, because they were always ill-affected toward the Romans.

88. About the same time Metellus gained a victory over the other army of Carbo, and here again five cohorts, for safety's sake, deserted to Metellus during the battle. Pompey overcame Marcius near Senæ and plundered the town. Sulla, having shut Marius up in Præneste, drew a line of circumvallation around the town a considerable distance from it and left the work in charge of Lucretius Ofella, as he intended to reduce Marius by famine, not by fighting. When Marius saw that his condition was hopeless he hastened to put his private enemies out of the way. He wrote to Brutus, the city prætor, to call the Senate together on some pretext or other and to kill Publius Antistius, the other Papirius, Lucius Domitius, and Mucius Scævola, the pontifex maximus. Of these the two first were slain in their seats as Marius had ordered, assassins having been introduced into the senate-house for this purpose. Domitius ran out, but was killed at the door, and Scævola was killed a little farther away. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, for it was now the custom not to bury the slain. Sulla sent an army to Rome in detachments by different roads with orders to seize the gates, and if they were repulsed to rendezvous at Ostia. The towns on the way received them with fear and trembling, and the city opened its gates to them because the people were oppressed by hunger, and because, of present evils, they were accustomed

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672 to yield to the ones which were immediately weighing 82
upon them.

89. When Sulla learned this he came on immediately and established his army before the gates in the Campus Martius. He went inside himself, all of the opposite faction having fled. Their property was at once confiscated and exposed to public sale. Sulla summoned the people to an assembly, where he lamented the necessity of his present doings and told them to cheer up, as the troubles would soon be over and the government go as it ought. Having arranged such matters as were pressing and put some of his own men in charge of the city, he set out for Clusium, where the war was still raging. In the meantime a body of Celtiberian horse, sent by the prætors in Spain, had joined the consuls, and there was a cavalry fight on the banks of the river Glanis. Sulla killed about fifty of the enemy, and then 270 of the Celtiberian horse deserted to him, and Carbo himself killed the rest of them, either because he was angry at the desertion of their countrymen or because he feared similar action on their own part. About the same time Sulla overcame another detachment of his enemies near Saturnia, and Metellus sailed around toward Ravenna and took possession of the level, wheat-growing country of Uritanus. Another Sullan division effected an entrance into Neapolis by treachery in the night, killed all the inhabitants except a few who had made their escape, and seized the triremes belonging to the city. A severe battle was fought near Clusium between Sulla himself and Carbo, lasting all day. Neither party had the advantage when darkness put an end to the conflict.

90. In the plain of Spoletium, Pompey and Crassus, both Sulla's officers, killed some 3000 of Carbo's men and besieged Carinas, the opposing general. Carbo sent reënforcements to Carinas, but Sulla learned of their movement, laid an ambush for them, and killed about 2000 of them on the road. Carinas escaped by night during a heavy rain-storm and thick darkness, and although the besiegers were aware of some movement, they made no opposition on account of the storm. Carbo sent Marcius with eight legions to the relief of his colleague, Marius, at Præneste, having heard that he was suffering from hunger.

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672 Pompey fell upon them from ambush in a defile, defeated 82
them, killed a large number, and surrounded the remainder on a hill. Marcius made his escape, leaving his fires burning. His army blamed him for being caught in an ambush and stirred up an angry mutiny. One whole legion marched off under their standards to Ariminum without orders. The rest separated and went home in squads, so that only seven cohorts remained with their general. Marcius, having made a mess of it in this way, returned to Carbo. However, Marcus Lamponius from Lucania, Pontius Telesinus from Samnium, and Gutta the Capuan, with 70,000 men, hastened to deliver Marius from the siege, but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Marius now despaired of aid from without, and built a citadel in the wide space between himself and the enemy, within which he collected his soldiers and his engines, and from which he attempted to force his way through the besieging army of Lucretius. The attempt was renewed several days in different ways, but he accomplished nothing and was again shut up in Præneste.

91. About the same time Carbo and Norbanus went by a short road to attack the camp of Metellus in Faventia just before nightfall. There was only one hour of daylight left, and there were thick vineyards thereabout. They made their plans for battle in hot temper and not with good judgment, hoping to take Metellus unawares and to stampede him. But they were beaten, both the place and the time being unfavorable for them. They became entangled in the vines, and suffered a heavy slaughter, losing some 10,000 men. About 6000 more deserted, and the rest were dispersed, only 1000 getting back to Ariminum in good order. Another legion of Lucanians under Albinovanus, when they heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus to the great chagrin of their leader. As the latter was not able to restrain this impulse of his men, he, for the time, returned to Norbanus. Not many days later he sent secretly to Sulla, and having obtained a promise of safety from him, if he should accomplish anything important, he invited Norbanus and his lieutenants, Gaius Antipater and Flavius Fimbria (brother of the one who committed suicide in Asia), together with such of Carbo's lieutenants as were then pres-

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672 ent, to a feast. When they had all assembled except 82
Norbanus (he was the only one who did not come), Albinovanus killed them all at the banquet and then fled to Sulla. Norbanus having learned that, in consequence of this disaster, Ariminum and many other camps in the vicinity were going over to Sulla, and being unable to rely on the good faith and firm support of any of his friends there present, since he found himself in adversity, took ship as a private individual and sailed to Rhodes. When, at a later period, Sulla demanded his surrender, and while the Rhodians were deliberating on it, he killed himself in the market-place.

92. Carbo sent Damasippus in haste with two other legions to Præneste to relieve Marius, who was still besieged, but not even these could force their way through the pass that was guarded by Sulla. The Gauls who inhabited the country lying between Ravenna and the Alps went over to Metellus *en masse* and Lucullus won a victory over another body of Carbo's forces near Placentia. When Carbo learned these facts, although he still had 30,000 men around Clusium, and the two legions of Damasippus, and others under Carinas and Marcius, besides a large force of Samnites, who were courageously enduring hardships at the pass, he fell into despair and weakly fled to Africa with his friends, although he was still consul, in order to make a stand there instead of in Italy. Of those whom he left behind, the army around Clusium had a battle with Pompey in which they lost 20,000. Naturally, after this greatest disaster of all, the remainder of the army dissolved in fragments and each man went to his own home. Carinas, Marcius, and Damasippus went with all the forces they had to the pass in order to force their way through it in conjunction with the Samnites. Failing in the attempt, they marched to Rome, thinking that the city might be easily taken, as it was bereft of men and provisions, and they encamped in the Alban territory at a distance of 100 stades from it.

93. Sulla feared for the safety of the city, and sent his cavalry forward with all speed to hinder their march, and then hastened in person with his whole army and encamped alongside the Colline gate around the temple of Venus

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672 about noon. The enemy were already encamped around the city. A battle was fought at once, late in the afternoon. On the right wing Sulla was victorious. His left wing was vanquished and fled to the gates. The old soldiers on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in with their own men, dropped the portcullis. It fell upon and killed many soldiers and many senators. But the majority, impelled by fear and necessity, turned and fought the enemy. The fighting continued through the night and a great many were killed. The generals, Telesinus and Albinus, were killed and their camp was taken. Lamponius the Lucanian, Marcius, and Carinas, and the other generals of the faction of Carbo, fled. It was estimated that 50,000 men on both sides lost their lives in this engagement. Prisoners, to the number of more than 8000, were shot down with darts by Sulla because they were mostly Samnites. The next day Marcius and Carinas were captured and brought in. Sulla did not spare them because they were Romans, but killed them both and sent their heads to Lucretius at Præneste to be displayed around the walls. 82

94. When the Prænestians saw them and knew that Carbo's army was completely destroyed, and that Norbanus himself had fled from Italy, and that Rome and all the rest of Italy were in the power of Sulla, they surrendered their city to Lucretius. Marius hid himself in an underground tunnel and shortly afterward committed suicide. Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla, who exposed it in the forum in front of the rostra. It is said that he indulged in a jest at the youth of the consul, saying that one ought to be a rower before he manages the helm. When Lucretius took Præneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius, and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Præneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three parts, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Prænestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he

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672 would pardon them. The others he massacred to the last man. He allowed their wives and children to go unharmed. He plundered the town, which was extremely rich at that time. In this way was Præneste served. Norba, another town, still resisted with all its might until Æmilius Lepidus was admitted to it in the night by treachery. The inhabitants were maddened by this treason. Some killed themselves, or fell on each other's swords, others strangled themselves with ropes. Still others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no plunder was left in it. In this way did these stout-hearted men perish. 82

CHAPTER XI

Proscription and Massacre by Sulla — Confiscation and Murder in the Provinces — Sulla Triumphant — Is made Dictator for Life — The Sullan Constitution — Lucretius Ofella slain by Sulla's Order — Distress and Exhaustion of Italy

95. After accomplishing these deeds throughout Italy by war, fire, and murder, Sulla's generals visited the several cities and established garrisons at the suspected places. Pompey was despatched to Africa against Carbo and to Sicily against Carbo's friends who had taken refuge there. Sulla himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the public if they would obey him. He would not spare one of his enemies, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by every means in his power on all prætors, quæstors, military tribunes, and everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights.[1] He seems to have been the first one to

[1] Mommsen says that the list of the proscribed reached 4700 names. "This total," he adds, "is given by Valerius Maximus, ix. 2, 1. Accord-

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672 punish by proscription, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were picked up, carried to Sulla, and thrown down at his feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they caught they killed. 82

96. There was much killing, banishment, and confiscation also among those Italians who had obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their lieutenants. Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges — for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by impos-

ing to Appian (*B.C.* i. 95) there were proscribed by Sulla nearly 40 senators and 1600 knights; according to Florus (ii. 9, whence Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 28) 2000 senators and knights. According to Plutarch (*Sull.* 31) 520 names were placed on the list in the first three days; according to Orosius (v. 21) 580 names during the first days. There is no material contradiction between these various reports, for it was not senators and knights alone that were put to death, and the list remained open for months. When Appian, at another passage (i. 103), mentions as put to death or banished by Sulla, 15 consulars, 90 senators, 2600 knights, he there confounds, as the context shows, the victims of the civil war throughout, with the victims of Sulla. . . . On a comparison of the figures 50 senators and 1000 knights were regarded as victims of Marius, 40 senators 1600 knights as victims of Sulla; this furnishes a standard — at least not altogether arbitrary — for estimating the extent of the mischief on both sides." (*Hist. of Rome*, iii. 423.)

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ing heavy fines and contributions on them. Among most of them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him during his life and even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all of Sulla's affairs were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he was deceased. While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill all of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, who had been thrice consul, he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, killed him and sent his head to Sulla.

97. When everything had been accomplished against his enemies as he desired, and there was no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and managed everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, "Cornelius Sulla, a fortunate commander," for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him. I have come across a history which relates that Sulla was styled Epaphroditus[1] by a decree of the Senate itself. This does not seem to me to be inappropriate for he was also called Faustus (lucky), which name seems to have very nearly the same signification as Epaphroditus. There was also an oracle given to him somewhere which, in response to his question concerning the future, assured his prosperous career as follows: —

"Believe me, Roman, the Cyprian goddess cares for the race of Æneas and has given it great power. Render

[1] The favorite of Venus.

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672 yearly gifts to all the immortals, and do not forget them. 82
Convey gifts to Delphi. There is also a place where men go up under snowy Taurus, a wide-reaching city of the Carians,[1] whose inhabitants have named it for Aphrodite. Give the goddess an axe and you shall gain sovereign power."[2]

Whichever decree the Romans voted when they erected the statue, they seem to me to have made the inscription by way of jest or cajolery. However, Sulla sent a golden crown and an axe to Venus with this inscription:—

"The dictator Sulla dedicates this to thee, Venus, because in a dream he saw thee in panoply setting the army in order of battle and fighting with the weapons of Mars."[3]

98. Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, *de facto*, not elected, but holding power by force and violence. As, however, he needed some pretence of being elected it was managed in this way. The kings of the Romans in the olden time were chosen for their bravery, and when one of them died the senators held the royal power in succession for five days each, until the people could decide who should be the new king. This five-day ruler was called the Interrex, which means king for the time being. The retiring consuls always presided over the election of their successors in office, and if there chanced to be no consul at such a time an Interrex was appointed for the purpose of holding the consular comitia. Sulla took advantage of this custom. There were no consuls at this time, Carbo having lost his life in Sicily and Marius in Præneste. So Sulla went out

[1] The town of Aphrodisias in Caria, dedicated to Venus. It is mentioned in the *Annals* of Tacitus (iii. 62) as one of those whose title to be considered a lawful sanctuary and refuge for criminals was investigated during the reign of Tiberius.

[2] *Πείθεό μοι Ρωμαῖε, κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν*
Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη. Ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν
ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει· μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε.
Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. Καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι
Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστυ
Καρῶν, οἱ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης·
καὶ πέλεκυν θέμενος, λήψῃ κράτος ἀμιφλαφές σοι.

[3] *Τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,*
ὥς εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσαν
τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμενην ἔνοπλον.

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672 of the city for a time and ordered the Senate to choose an Interrex. They chose Valerius Flaccus, expecting that he would soon hold the consular comitia. But Sulla wrote to Flaccus to bring before the people the proposition that he (Sulla) considered it advisable, under present circumstances, that the city should be governed by a dictator according to a custom that had been abandoned 400 years.[1] He told them not to appoint the dictator for any definite time, but until the city and Italy and the whole government, so shaken by factions and wars, should be put upon a firm foundation. That this proposal referred to Sulla himself was not at all doubtful. Sulla made no concealment of it. At the conclusion of the letter he declared openly that, in his judgment, he could be serviceable to the city in that capacity. 82

99. Such was Sulla's letter. The Romans were unwilling, but they had no more opportunities for elections according to law, and they considered that this matter was not altogether in their own power. So, in the absence of everything else, they welcomed this pretence of an election as an image and semblance of freedom and chose Sulla their absolute master for as long a time as he pleased. There had been autocratic rule of the dictators before, but it was limited to short periods. But in Sulla's time it first became unlimited and so an absolute tyranny; yet they added, for propriety's sake, that they chose him dictator for the enactment of such laws as he might deem best and for the regulation of the commonwealth. Thus the Romans, after having government by kings for sixty Olympiads, and a democracy, under consuls chosen yearly, for 100 Olympiads, resorted to kingly government again. This was in the 175th Olympiad according to the Greek calendar, but there were no Olympic games then except races in the stadium, since Sulla had carried away the athletes and all the sights and shows to Rome to celebrate his victories in the Mithridatic and Italian wars, under the pretext that the masses needed a breathing-spell and recreation after their toils.

[1] This is probably a corruption of the text. The last dictator was appointed in the year 202 B.C., or 120 years before Sulla assumed that office.

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673 100. Nevertheless, as the form of the republic remained he allowed them to appoint consuls. Marcus Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella were chosen. But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls. Twenty-four axes were borne in front of him, as was customary with dictators, the same number that were borne before the ancient kings, and he had a large body-guard also. He repealed laws and he enacted others. He forbade anybody to hold the office of prætor until after he had held that of quæstor, or to be consul before he had been prætor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office; for which reason all men of reputation or family, who formerly contended for this office, shunned it thereafter. I am not able to say positively whether Sulla transferred this office from the people to the Senate, where it is now lodged, or not. To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes for each one. To the plebeians he added more than 10,000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10,000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had served under him a great deal of land among the communities, as I have already related, some of which was public property and some taken from the communities by way of fine. 81

101. So terrible was he and so uncontrollable in anger that he slew in the middle of the forum Q. Lucretius Ofella, the one who had besieged and captured Præneste and the consul Marius, and had won the final victory for him. He did this because, in spite of the new law, Lucretius persisted, though Sulla opposed and forbade, in being a candidate for the consulship while he was still in the

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673 equestrian order and before he had been quæstor and prætor, presuming on the greatness of his services, according to the former custom, and captivating the populace. Then Sulla assembled the people and said to them, "Know, citizens, and learn from me, that I caused the death of Lucretius because he disobeyed me." And then he told the following story: "A husbandman was bitten by fleas while ploughing. He stopped his ploughing twice in order to clear them out of his shirt. When they bit him again he burned his shirt, so that he might not be so often interrupted in his work. And I tell you, who have felt my hand twice, to take warning lest the third time fire be brought in requisition." With these words he terrified them and thereafter ruled as he pleased. He had a triumph on account of the Mithridatic war, during which some of the scoffers called his government "the royalty disavowed" because only the name of king was concealed. Others took the contrary view, judging from his acts, and called it "the tyranny confessed." 81

102. Into such evils were the Romans and all the Italians plunged by this war; and so likewise were all the countries beyond Italy by the recent piracies, or by the Mithridatic war, or by the many exhausting taxes levied to meet the deficit in the public treasury due to the seditions. All the allied nations and kings, and not only the tributary cities, but those which had delivered themselves to the Romans voluntarily under sworn agreements, and those which by virtue of their furnishing aid in war or for some other merit were autonomous and not subject to tribute, all were now required to pay and to obey. Some that had surrendered themselves under treaty arrangements were deprived of their territory and their harbors. Sulla decreed that Alexander (the son of Alexander the former sovereign of Egypt), who had been reared in Cos and given to Mithridates by the inhabitants of that island, and had fled to Sulla and become intimate with him, should be king of Alexandria. He did this because the government of Alexandria was destitute of a sovereign in the male line, and the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage, and because he (Sulla) expected to reap a large reward from the rich kingdom. As Alexander behaved himself in a very offensive

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673 manner toward them, relying upon Sulla, the Alexandrians, 81
on the nineteenth day of his reign, dragged him from the palace to the gymnasium and put him to death; so little fear had they of foreigners, either by reason of the magnitude of their own government or their inexperience as yet of external dangers.

Chapter XII

Sulla's Abdication — Character of Sulla — His Death, and Funeral

674 103. The following year Sulla, although he was dictator, 80
undertook the consulship a second time, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, in order to preserve the pretence and form of democratic government. It is perhaps from this example that the Roman emperors now make a showing of consuls to the country and even exhibit themselves in that capacity, considering it not unbecoming to hold the office of consul in connection with the supreme power.
675 The next year the people, in order to pay court to Sulla, 79
chose him consul again, but he refused the office and nominated Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher for their suffrages, and voluntarily laid down the supreme power, although nobody was troubling him. This act seems wonderful to me — that Sulla should have been the first, and till then the only one, to abdicate such vast power without compulsion, not to sons (like Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or Seleucus in Syria), but to the very people over whom he had tyrannized. Almost incredible is it that after incurring so many dangers in forcing his way to this power he should have laid it down of his own free will after he had acquired it. Paradoxical beyond anything is the fact that he was afraid of nothing, although more than 100,000 young men had perished in this war, and he had destroyed of his enemies ninety senators, fifteen consulars, and 2600 of the so-called knights, including the banished. The property of these men had been confiscated and many of their bodies cast out unburied. Undaunted by the relatives of these persons at home, or by the banished abroad, or by the cities whose

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675 towers and walls he had thrown down and whose lands, 79
money, and privileges he had swept away, Sulla now returned to private life.

104. So great was this man's boldness and good fortune. It is said that he made a speech in the forum when he laid down his power in which he offered to give the reasons for what he had done to anybody who should ask them. He dismissed the lictors with their axes and discontinued his body-guard, and for a long time walked to the forum with only a few friends, the multitude looking upon him with awe even then. Once only when he was going home he was reproached by a boy. As nobody restrained this boy he made bold to follow Sulla to his house, railing at him, and Sulla, who had opposed the greatest men and states with towering rage, endured his reproaches with calmness and as he went into the house said, divining the future either by his intelligence or by chance, "This young man will prevent any other holder of such power from laying it down." This saying was shortly confirmed to the Romans, for Gaius Cæsar never laid down his power. Sulla seems to me to have been the same masterful and able man in all respects, whether striving to reach supreme power from private life, or changing back to private life from supreme power, or later when passing his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumæ in Italy and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might try to do. He was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were 120,000 men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the 10,000 Cornelii ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents, all of whom rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in coöperation with him. But I think that he was satiated with war, with power, with city affairs, and that he took to rural life finally because he loved it.[1]

[1] Sulla was fifty-nine years of age when he retired and he died in the following year.

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676 105. Directly after his retirement the Romans, although 78 delivered from slaughter and tyranny, began gradually to fan the flames of new seditions. Quintus Catulus and Æmilius Lepidus were chosen consuls, the former of the Sullan faction and the latter of the opposite party. They hated each other bitterly and began to quarrel immediately, from which it was plain that fresh troubles were brewing. While he was living in the country Sulla had a dream in which he thought he saw his Genius already calling him.[1] Early in the morning he told the dream to his friends and in haste began writing his will, which he finished that day. After sealing it he was taken with a fever towards evening and died the same night. He was sixty years of age and had been the most fortunate of men even to the very last, and realized in all respects the title he bore; that is, if one can be considered fortunate who obtains all that he desires. Immediately a dissension sprang up in the city over his remains, some proposing to bring them in a procession through Italy and exhibit them in the forum and give him a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction opposed this, but Catulus and the Sullan party prevailed. Sulla's corpse was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendor. Musicians and horsemen in great numbers went in advance and a great multitude of armed men followed on foot. His fellow-soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came. The crowd of other people that came together was unprecedented. The standards and the fasces that he had used while living and ruling were borne in the procession.

106. When the remains reached the city they were borne through the streets with an enormous procession. More than 2000 golden crowns which had been made in haste were carried in it, the gifts of cities and of the legions that he had commanded and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the splendid things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery all the priests and priestesses escorted the remains, each in

[1] So in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, iv. 4: —

"Some say the Genius so cries 'Come' to him that instantly must die."

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676 proper costume. The entire Senate and the whole body of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of the Roman knights followed with their peculiar decorations, and, in their turn, all the legions that had fought under him. They came together with eagerness, all hastening to join in the task, carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on such occasions. There was a countless number of trumpeters who by turns played the most mournful dirges. Loud cries were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the present spectacle and remembered what this man had accomplished they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most beneficial to his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The corpse was shown in the forum on the rostra, where public speeches were usually made, and the most eloquent of the Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son, Faustus, was still very young. Then strong men of the senators took up the litter and carried it to the Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army coursed around the funeral pile. And this was the last of Sulla. 78

Chapter XIII

New Dissensions in Rome — The War with Sertorius — Pompey sent against him — Sertorius defeats Pompey — Wars Elsewhere — Sertorius puts Pompey to flight at Pallantia — Sertorius assassinated by Perpenna — Perpenna takes the Command — Is defeated and slain by Pompey

107. Directly after their return from the funeral the consuls fell into a wordy quarrel and the citizens began to take sides with them. Lepidus, in order to curry favor with the Italians, said that he would restore the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate was afraid of both factions and made them take an oath that they would not carry their differences to the point of war. To Lepidus

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676 the province of transalpine Gaul was assigned by lot and 78
he did not come back to the comitia because he would be released in the following year from his oath about making war on the Sullans; for it was considered that the oath was binding only during the term of office. As his designs did not escape observation he was recalled by the Senate, and as he knew why he was recalled he came with his whole army, intending to bring them into the city with him. As he was prevented from doing this, he ordered his men under arms and Catulus did the same on the other side. A battle was fought not far from the Campus Martius. Lepidus was defeated and, soon giving up the struggle, sailed shortly afterward to Sardinia, where he died of a wasting disease. His army was frittered away little by little and dissolved; the greater part of it was conducted by Perpenna to Sertorius in Spain.

108. There remained of the Sullan troubles the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years,[1] and was not an easy war to the Romans since it was waged not merely against Spaniards, but against other Romans and Sertorius. He had been chosen governor of Spain while he was coöperating with Carbo against Sulla; and after taking the city of Suessa during the armistice he fled and assumed his prætorship. He had an army from Italy itself and he raised another from the Celtiberians, and drove out of Spain the former prætors, who, in order to favor Sulla, refused to surrender the government to him. He had also fought nobly against Metellus, who had been sent against him by Sulla. Having acquired a reputation for bravery he enrolled a council of 300 members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman Senate in derision
677 of the real one. After Sulla died, and Lepidus later, he 77
obtained another army of Italians which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought to him and it was supposed that he intended to march against Italy itself, and would have done so had not the Senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former ones. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits in the time of Sulla, in Africa and in Italy itself.

[1] More probably ten years, Mendelssohn thinks.

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677 109. Pompey courageously crossed the Alps, not in the 77
face of such difficulties as Hannibal experienced, but he opened another passage around the sources of the Rhone and the Eridanus. These issue from the Alpine mountains not far from each other. One of them runs through transalpine Gaul and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea; the other from the interior of the Alps to the Adriatic. The name of the latter has been changed from the Eridanus to the Po.
678 Directly Pompey arrived in Spain Sertorius cut in pieces 76
a whole legion of his army, that had been sent out foraging, with its animals and servants. He also plundered and destroyed the Roman town of Lauro before the very eyes of Pompey. In this siege a woman tore out with her fingers the eyes of a soldier who had insulted her and was trying to commit an outrage upon her. When Sertorius heard of this he put to death the whole cohort that was supposed to be addicted to such brutality, although it was composed of Romans. Then the armies were separated by the advent of winter.

679 110. When spring came they resumed hostilities, Metel- 75
lus and Pompey coming from the Pyrenees mountains, where they had wintered, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania. They met near the town of Sucro. While the fight was going on flashes of lightning came unexpectedly from a clear sky, but these trained soldiers were not in the least dismayed. They continued the fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, until Metellus defeated Perpenna and plundered his camp. On the other hand, Sertorius defeated Pompey, who received a dangerous wound from a spear in the thigh, and this put an end to that battle. Sertorius had a white fawn that was tame and allowed to move about freely. When this fawn was not visible Sertorius considered it a bad omen. He became low-spirited and abstained from fighting; nor did he mind the enemy's scoffing at the fawn. When she made her appearance running through the woods Sertorius would run to meet her and, as though he were inspired by her, he would begin to harass the enemy. Not long afterward Sertorius fought a great battle near Seguntia, lasting from noon till night. Sertorius fought on horseback and vanquished Pompey, killing nearly 6000 of his men and losing about half that

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679 number himself. Metellus at the same time destroyed 75
about 5000 of Perpenna's army. The day after this battle Sertorius, with a large reënforcement of barbarians, attacked the camp of Metellus unexpectedly towards evening with the intention of besieging it with a trench, but Pompey hastened up and caused Sertorius to desist from his bold enterprise. In this way they passed the summer, and again they separated to winter quarters.

680 111. The following year, which was in the 176th Olym- 74
piad, two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy Apion, of the house of the Lagidæ. There were wars and wars; the Sertorian was raging in Spain, the Mithridatic in the East, that of the pirates on the entire sea, and another one around Crete against the Cretans themselves, besides the gladiatorial war in Italy, which started suddenly and became very serious. Although distracted by so many conflicts the Romans sent another army of two legions into Spain. With these and the other forces in their hands Metellus and Pompey again descended from the Pyrenees mountains to the Ebro and Sertorius and Perpenna advanced from Lusitania to meet them. At this juncture many of the soldiers of Sertorius deserted to Metellus.

112. Sertorius was so exasperated by this that he visited savage and barbarous punishment upon many of his men and fell into disrepute in consequence. The soldiers blamed him particularly because wherever he went he surrounded himself with a body-guard of Celtiberian spearmen instead of Romans, removing the latter in favor of the former. Nor could they bear to be reproached with treachery by him while they were serving under an enemy of the Roman people. That they should be charged with bad faith by Sertorius while they were acting in bad faith to their country on his account, was the very thing that vexed them most. Nor did they consider it just that those who remained with the standards should be condemned because others deserted. Moreover, the Celtiberians took this occasion to insult them as men under suspicion. Still they were not altogether alienated from Sertorius since they derived advantages from his service, for there was no other

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680 man of that period more skilled in the art of war or more 74
successful in it. For this reason, and on account of the rapidity of his movements, the Celtiberians gave him the name of Hannibal, whom they considered the boldest and most crafty general ever known in their country. In this way the army stood affected toward Sertorius. The forces of Metellus overran many of his towns and brought the men belonging to them under subjection. While Pompey was laying siege to Pallantia and underrunning the walls with wooden supports, Sertorius suddenly appeared on the scene and raised the siege. Pompey hastily set fire to the timbers and retreated to Metellus. Sertorius rebuilt the part of the wall which had fallen and then attacked his enemies who were encamped around the castle of Calagurris and killed 3000 of them. And so this year went by in Spain.[1]

681 113. In the following year the Roman generals plucked 73
up rather more courage and advanced in an audacious manner against the towns that adhered to Sertorius, drew many away from him, assaulted others, and were much elated by their success. No great battle was fought, but again[2] . . . until the following year, when they advanced again even more audaciously. Sertorius was now
682 evidently misled by a god, for he relaxed his labors, fell 72
into habits of luxury, and gave himself up to women, and to carousing and drinking, for which reason he was defeated continually. He became hot-tempered, from various suspicions, and extremely cruel in punishment, and distrustful of everybody,[3] so much so that Perpenna, who had belonged to the faction of Lepidus and had come hither as a volunteer with a considerable army, began to fear for his own safety and formed a conspiracy with ten other men against him. The conspiracy was betrayed, some of the guilty ones were punished and others fled, but Perpenna escaped

[1] A letter from Pompey to the Senate describing his desperate condition and threatening, unless supplied with money, to return to Italy, with Sertorius probably in close pursuit, is preserved in the writings of Sallust.

[2] Schweighäuser detects a lacuna here which he fills with the words "there were skirmishes here and there."

[3] Plutarch represents Sertorius as temperate, unassailable by either pleasure or fear, and "very sparing and backward in punishing offenders." (*Life of Sertorius*, 10.)

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682 detection in some unaccountable manner and applied himself all the more to carry out the design. As Sertorius was never without his guard of spearmen, Perpenna invited him to a banquet, plied him and his guards with wine, and assassinated him after the feast. 72

114. The soldiers straightway rose in tumult and anger against Perpenna, their hatred of Sertorius being suddenly turned to affection for him, as people generally mollify their anger toward the dead, and when the one who has injured them is no longer before their eyes recall his virtues with tender memory. Reflecting on their present situation they despised Perpenna as though he had been a private individual, for they considered that the bravery of Sertorius had been their only salvation. They were angry with Perpenna, and the barbarians were no less so; most of all were the Lusitanians, of whose services Sertorius had especially availed himself. When the will of Sertorius was opened a bequest to Perpenna was found in it, and thereupon still greater anger and hatred of him entered into the minds of all, since he had committed such an abominable crime, not merely against his ruler and commanding general, but against his friend and benefactor. And they would not have abstained from violence had not Perpenna bestirred himself, making gifts to some and promises to others. Some he terrified with threats and some he killed in order to strike terror into the rest. He came forward and made a speech to the multitude, and released from confinement some whom Sertorius had imprisoned, and dismissed some of the Spanish hostages. Reduced to submission in this way they obeyed him as prætor (for he held the next rank to Sertorius) yet they were not without bitterness toward him even then. As he grew bolder he became very cruel in punishments, and put to death three of the nobility who had fled together from Rome to him, and also his own nephew.

115. As Metellus had gone to other parts of Spain, — for he considered it no longer a difficult task for Pompey alone to vanquish Perpenna, — these two skirmished and made tests of each other for several days, but did not bring their whole strength into the field. On the tenth day, however, a great battle was fought between them. They

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682 resolved to decide the contest by one engagement — Pompey because he despised the generalship of Perpenna; Perpenna because he did not believe that his army would long remain faithful to him, and he could now engage with nearly his whole strength. Pompey, as might have been expected, soon got the better of this inferior general and disaffected army. Perpenna was defeated all along the line and concealed himself in a thicket, more fearful of his own troops than of the enemy's. He was seized by some horsemen and dragged toward Pompey's headquarters, loaded with the execrations of his own men, as the murderer of Sertorius, and crying out that he could give Pompey a great deal of information about the factions in Rome. This he said either because it was true, or in order to be brought safe to Pompey's presence, but the latter sent orders to kill him before bringing him into his presence, fearing lest the news that Perpenna wanted to communicate should be the source of new troubles at Rome. Pompey seems to have behaved very prudently in this matter, and his action added to his high reputation. So ended the war in Spain with the life of Sertorius. I think that if he had lived longer the war would not have ended so soon or so successfully.[1] 72

Chapter XIV

The War with Spartacus — He defeats the Romans in Several Engagements — Crassus appointed to the Command — He defeats and kills Spartacus — End of the War — Rivalry of Pompey and Crassus — Their Reconciliation

681 116. At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, 73
who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and sold for a gladiator, and was in

[1] Plutarch says that Perpenna, having the papers of Sertorius in his hands, offered to show Pompey letters from persons of the highest quality in Rome inviting Sertorius to march to Italy in order to bring about a change in the government, but that Pompey took the papers and burned them without reading them, or allowing anybody else to do so. He says also that all of the conspirators against Sertorius who fell into Pompey's hands were put to death by his orders. (*Life of Sertorius*, 27.)

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681 the gladiatorial training-school at Capua, persuaded about 73
seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away. They armed themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighboring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named Œnomaus and Crixus. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. Varinius Glaber was first sent against him and afterward Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as yet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. When they attacked Spartacus they were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did a Roman prætor escape being captured by a gladiator. After this still greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected apparatus.

682 117. Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. 72
One of them overcame Crixus with 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of whom perished together with himself. Spartacus endeavored to make his way through the Apennines to the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his march while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They retreated in confusion in different directions. Spartacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the manes of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot, having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here was another great battle and then, too, a great defeat for the Romans. Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only

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682 slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the 72
mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and continued in robbery for the time being. When they next came to an engagement with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

683 118. This war, so formidable to the Romans (although 71
ridiculous and contemptible in the beginning, considered as the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new prætors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the prætorship and marched against Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived at his destination he received also the two legions of the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army, and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, he demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy. Presently he overcame 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling.

119. Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their *morale* inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting from somewhere a reënforcement of horse, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed

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683 the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell 71
upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labor difficult. He crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. When the Romans in the city heard of the siege they thought it would be disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain, as a reënforcement.

120. On account of this vote Crassus tried in every way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundusium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus had just arrived in Brundusium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. The battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The remainder of his army was thrown into confusion and butchered in crowds. So great was the slaughter that it was impossible to count them. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome.

121. Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honors between himself and

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683 Pompey. Crassus did not dismiss his army, for Pompey 71
did not dismiss his. Both were candidates for the consulship. Crassus had been prætor as the law of Sulla required. Pompey had been neither prætor nor quæstor, and was only thirty-four years old. He promised the tribunes of the people that much of their former power should be re-
684 stored. When they were chosen consuls they did not even 70
then dismiss their armies, which were stationed near the city. Each one offered an excuse. Pompey said that he was waiting the return of Metellus for his Spanish triumph. Crassus said that Pompey ought to dismiss his army first. The people, seeing fresh seditions brewing and fearing two armies encamped round about, besought the consuls, while they were occupying the curule chairs in the forum, to be reconciled to each other. At first both of them repelled these solicitations. When certain persons, who seemed to be divinely inspired, predicted many direful consequences if the consuls did not come to an agreement, the people again implored them with lamentation and the greatest dejection, reminding them of the evils produced by the contentions of Marius and Sulla. Crassus yielded first. He came down from his chair, advanced to Pompey, and offered him his hand in the way of reconciliation. Pompey rose and hastened to meet him. They shook hands amid general acclamations and the people did not leave the assembly until the consuls had given orders in writing to disband the armies. Thus was the well-grounded fear of another great dissension happily dispelled. This was about the sixtieth year in the course of the civil convulsions, reckoning from the killing of Tiberius Gracchus.



GAIUS MARIUS

Visconti's *Rom. Icon.* (Duruy)

BOOK II

THE CIVIL WARS (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER I

The Conspiracy of Catiline — Discovered by Cicero — The Conspirators arrested, and put to Death — Battle of Pistoria and Death of Catiline

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1. AFTER the reign of Sulla, and the later operations of Sertorius and Perpenna in Spain, other internal commotions of a similar nature took place among the Romans until Gaius Cæsar and Pompey the Great waged war against each other, and Cæsar made an end of Pompey and was himself killed in the senate-chamber because he was accused of exercising royal power. How these things came about and how both Pompey and Cæsar lost their lives, this second book of the Civil Wars will show. Pompey had
690 lately cleared the sea of pirates, who were then more nu- 64
merous than ever before, and afterward had overthrown Mithridates, king of Pontus, and regulated his kingdom and the other nations that he had subdued in the East. Cæsar was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, daring in every way, ambitious of everything, and profuse beyond his means in the pursuit of honors. While yet ædile and prætor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditures.

2. At this time Lucius Catiline[1] was a person of importance, of great celebrity, and high birth, but a madman. It was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to

[1] All the codices say *Gaius* Catiline. The Latin version of Candidus says Lucius.



Cicero

In the Hall of the Philosophers, Capitoline Museum, Rome

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690 poverty in order to gratify his ambition, but still he was 64
courted by the powerful, both men and women, and he became a candidate for the consulship as a step leading to absolute power. He confidently expected to be elected; but the suspicion of his ulterior designs defeated him, and Cicero, the most eloquent orator and rhetorician of the
691 period, was chosen instead. Catiline, by way of raillery 63
and contempt for those who voted for him, called him *Novus Homo* (a new man) on account of his obscure birth (for so they call those who achieve distinction by their own merits and not by those of their ancestors); and because he was not born in the city he called him *Inquilinus* (a lodger), by which term they designate those who occupy houses belonging to others. From this time Catiline abstained wholly from politics as not leading quickly and surely to absolute power, but as full of the spirit of contention and malice. He procured much money from many women who hoped that their husbands would get killed in the uprising, and he formed a conspiracy with a number of senators and knights, and collected together a body of plebeians, foreign residents, and slaves. His leading fellow-conspirators were Cornelius Lentulus and Cethegus, who were then the city prætors. He sent emissaries throughout Italy to those of Sulla's soldiers who had squandered the gains of their former life of plunder and who longed for similar doings. For this purpose he sent Gaius Manlius to Fæsulæ in Etruria and others to Picenum and Apulia, who enlisted soldiers for him secretly.

3. All these facts, while they were still secret, were communicated to Cicero by Fulvia, a woman of quality. Her lover, Quintus Curius, one of the conspirators with Catiline, who had been expelled from the Senate for debauchery, told his mistress in a vain and boastful way that he would soon be in a position of great power.[1] And now a rumor of what was transpiring in Italy was noised about. Accordingly, Cicero stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, and sent many of the nobility to the suspected places to watch what was going on. Catiline, although nobody had ventured to lay hands on him, because the

1 "He began to promise her seas and mountains," says Sallust (*Cat.* 23).

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691 facts were not yet publicly known, was nevertheless fearful 63
lest suspicion should increase with time. Trusting to rapidity of movement he forwarded money to Fæsulæ and directed his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and set the city on fire at a number of different places the same night. Then he departed to join Gaius Manlius, intending to collect additional forces and invade the city while burning. So extremely vain was he that he had the rods and axes borne before him as though he were a proconsul, and he proceeded on his journey to Manlius, enlisting soldiers as he went. Lentulus and his fellow-conspirators decided that when they should learn that Catiline had arrived at Fæsulæ, Lentulus and Cethegus should present themselves at Cicero's door early in the morning with concealed daggers, expecting to be admitted because of their rank; enter into conversation with him in the vestibule on some subject, no matter what; draw him away from his own people, and kill him; that Lucius Bestia, the tribune, should at once call an assembly of the people by heralds and accuse Cicero of timidity and of stirring up war and disturbing the city without cause, and that on the night following Bestia's speech the city should be set on fire by others in twelve places and plundered, and the leading citizens killed.

4. Such were the designs of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, the chiefs of the conspiracy, and they waited for the appointed time. Meanwhile ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were in the city making complaint against their magistrates, were solicited to join the conspiracy of Lentulus in order to cause an uprising against the Romans in Gaul. Lentulus sent in company with them, to Catiline, a man of Croton named Vulturcius, who carried letters without signatures. The Allobroges being in doubt communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state — it was the custom of all the subject states to have patrons at Rome. Sanga communicated the facts to Cicero, who captured the Allobroges and Vulturcius on their journey and brought them straightway before the Senate.[1] They confessed to their understanding with Len-

[1] Sallust says that the Allobroges were privy to their own arrest, which took place on the Milvian bridge, and that they made no resistance, but that Vulturcius fought till he was overpowered. (*Cat.* 45.)

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691 tulus and testified in his presence that Cornelius Lentulus 63
had often said that it was written in the book of fate that three Cornelii should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had already been such.

5. When they had so testified the Senate deprived Lentulus of his office. Cicero put each of the conspirators under arrest at the houses of the prætors, and returned directly to take the vote of the Senate concerning them. In the meantime there was a great tumult around the senate-house, the affair being as yet little understood, and those who did understand it being alarmed. The slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, reënforced by numerous artisans, made a circuit by back streets and assaulted the houses of the prætors in order to rescue their masters. When Cicero heard of this he hurried out of the senate-house and stationed the necessary guards and then came back and hastened the taking of the vote. Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke first, as it was the custom among the Romans for the one who was about to assume that office to deliver his opinion first, because, as I think, he would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and hence would give more careful consideration and circumspection to each. It was the opinion of Silanus that the culprits should suffer the extreme penalty, and many senators agreed with him until it came Nero's turn to deliver his opinion. Nero judged that it would be best to keep them under guard until Catiline should be beaten in the field and they could obtain the most accurate knowledge of the facts.

6. Gaius Cæsar was not free from the suspicion of complicity with these men, but Cicero did not venture to bring into the controversy one so popular with the masses. Cæsar proposed that Cicero should distribute the culprits among the towns of Italy, according to his own discretion, to be kept until Catiline should be beaten in fight, and that then they should be regularly tried, instead of inflicting an irremediable punishment upon members of the nobility in advance of argument and trial. As this opinion appeared to be just and acceptable, most of the senators changed completely, until Cato openly manifested his suspicion of Cæsar; and Cicero, who had apprehensions concerning the coming night (lest the crowd who were concerned with the

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691 conspiracy and were still in the forum in a state of suspense, fearful for themselves and the conspirators, might do something desperate), persuaded the Senate to give judgment against them without trial as persons caught in the act. Cicero immediately, while the Senate was still in session, conducted each of the conspirators from the houses where they were in custody to the prison, without the knowledge of the crowd, and saw them put to death. Then he went back to the forum and signified that they were dead. The crowd dispersed in alarm, congratulating themselves that they had not been found out. Thus the city breathed freely once more after the great fear that had weighed upon it that day. 63

692 7. Catiline had assembled about 20,000 troops, of whom one-fourth part were already armed, and was moving toward Gaul in order to complete his preparations, when Antonius, the other consul, overtook him beyond the Alps[1] and easily defeated the madly conceived adventure of the man, which was still more madly put to the test without preparation. Neither Catiline nor any of the nobility who were associated with him deigned to fly, but all perished at close quarters with their enemies. Such was the end of the uprising of Catiline, which almost brought the city to the extreme of peril. Cicero, who had been hitherto distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction, for which reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him, amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him as the Father of his Country. Some think that this appellation, which is now bestowed upon those emperors who are deemed worthy of it, had its beginning with Cicero. Although they are in fact kings, it is not given to them with their other titles immediately upon their accession, but is decreed to them in the progress of 62

[1] The battle was fought at Pistoria, at the southern base of the Apennines. The Roman army was commanded, not by the consul Antonius, but by his lieutenant Petreius, who is described by Sallust as one who had "served with great reputation for more than thirty years as military tribune, præfect, lieutenant, or prætor." Moreover it was a desperate and bloody engagement. (*Cat.* 57-61.)

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692 time, not as a matter of course, but as a final testimonial 62
of the greatest services.

CHAPTER II

Cæsar in Spain — The Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus — Cæsar's Agrarian Law — Tumult in the City — Cato ejected from the Forum — The Affair of Vettius — Cæsar conciliates the Knights — Is appointed Governor of Gaul — Gives his Daughter in Marriage to Pompey

693 8. Cæsar, who had been chosen prætor for Spain, was 61
detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces[1] in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction of public business, the administration of justice, and all matters of that kind because he considered them of no use
694 to his purposes, but he raised an army and attacked the 60
independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph. He was making preparations outside the walls for a most splendid procession, during the days when candidates for the consulship were required to present themselves. It was not lawful for one who was going to have a triumph to enter the city and then go back again for the triumph. As Cæsar was very anxious to secure the office, and his procession was not yet ready, he sent to the Senate and asked permission to stand for the consulship while absent, through the intercession of friends, for although he knew it was against the law it had been done by others. Cato opposed his proposition and used up the last day for the presentation of candidates, in speech making. Thereupon Cæsar abandoned his triumph, entered the city, offered himself as a candidate, and waited for the comitia.

9. In the meantime Pompey, who had acquired great

[1] About $1,250,000.

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694 glory and power by his Mithridatic war, was asking the Senate to ratify numerous concessions that he had granted to kings, princes, and cities. Many senators, however, moved by envy, made opposition, and especially Lucullus, who had held the command against Mithridates before Pompey, and who considered that the victory was his, since he had left the king in a state of extreme weakness for Pompey. Crassus coöperated with Lucullus in this matter. Pompey was indignant and made friends with Cæsar and promised under oath to support him for the consulship. The latter thereupon brought Crassus into friendly relations with Pompey. Thus these three most powerful men coöperated together for their mutual advantage. This coalition the Roman writer Varro treated in a book entitled *Tricaranus* (the three-headed monster).[1] The Senate had its suspicions of them and elected Lucius Bibulus as Cæsar's colleague to hold him in check. 60

695 10. Strife sprang up between them immediately and 59
they proceeded to arm themselves secretly against each other. Cæsar, who was a master of dissimulation, made speeches in the Senate in the interest of harmony with Bibulus, as though he were taking care lest harm should come to the republic from their disagreement. As he was believed to be sincere, Bibulus was thrown off his guard. While Bibulus was unprepared and suspecting nothing, Cæsar secretly got a large band of soldiers in readiness and brought before the Senate measures for the relief of the poor by the distribution of the public land to them. The best part of this land around Capua,[2] which was leased for the public benefit, he proposed to bestow upon those who were the fathers of at least three children, by which means he bought for himself the favor of a multitude of men. Twenty-thousand, who had three children each, came for-

[1] Τρικάρανον. — The original *Tricaranus* was a famous satire against the *three* cities of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, written by Anaximenes of Lampsacus and by him falsely attributed to the historian Theopompus in order to bring the latter into disrepute in those cities. By a skilful imitation of the style of Theopompus it had the intended effect. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, vi. 18, 2.)

[2] This land had been public domain ever since the second Punic war. (*Velleius*, ii. 44.)

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695 ward at once. As many senators opposed his motion he 59
pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year,[1] but harangued the people from the rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws. Both gave their approval, and the people came to the voting-place carrying concealed daggers.

11. The Senate (since no one called it together and it was not lawful for one consul to do so without the consent of the other) assembled at the house of Bibulus, but did nothing to counteract the force and preparation of Cæsar. They planned, however, that Bibulus should oppose Cæsar's laws, so that they should seem to be overcome by force rather than by their own negligence. Accordingly, Bibulus burst into the forum while Cæsar was still speaking. Strife and tumult arose, blows were given, and those who had daggers broke the fasces and insignia of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who stood around him. Bibulus was in no wise terrified, but bared his neck to Cæsar's partisans and loudly called on them to strike. "If I cannot persuade Cæsar to do right," he said, "I will affix upon him the guilt and stigma of my death." His friends, however, led him, against his will, out of the crowd and into the neighboring temple of Jupiter Stator. Cato was indignant at these proceedings, and, being a young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and dragged out by Cæsar's partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Cæsar roundly until he was ejected by the Cæsarians, and Cæsar secured the enactment of his laws.

12. The plebeians swore to observe these laws forever, and Cæsar directed the Senate to do the same. Many of them, including Cato, refused, and Cæsar proposed and the people enacted the death penalty to the recusants.

[1] "Appian and Dion are wrong in affirming that he ceased to assemble the Senate; for he called them together several times, among others to make them swear to observe his law and to declare Ptolemy and Ariovistus friends of the Roman people," etc. (*Duruy*, iii. 206.)

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695 Then they became alarmed and took the oath, including 59
the tribunes,[1] for it was no longer of any use to speak against it after the law had been confirmed by the others. And now Vettius, a plebeian, ran into the forum with a drawn dagger and said that he had been sent by Bibulus, Cicero, and Cato to kill Cæsar and Pompey, and that the dagger had been given to him by Postumius, the lictor of Bibulus. Although this affair was open to suspicion on both sides, Cæsar made use of it to inflame the multitude and postponed the examination of the assailant. Vettius was thrown into prison and killed the same night. As this transaction was variously commented on, Cæsar did not let it pass unnoticed, but said that it had been done by the opposite party who were afraid of exposure.[2] Finally, the people furnished him a guard to protect him against conspirators, and Bibulus abstained from public business altogether, like a private citizen, and did not go out of his house for the remainder of his official term.

13. As Cæsar now had the sole administration of public affairs, he did not make any further inquiry concerning Vettius. He brought forward new laws to win the favor of the multitude, and caused all of Pompey's acts to be ratified, as he had promised him. The so-called knights, who held the middle place in rank between the Senate and the plebeians, and were extremely powerful in all ways by reason of their wealth, and of the farming of the provincial revenues which they contracted for, and who kept for this purpose multitudes of very trusty servants, had been asking the Senate for a long time to release them from a part of what they owed to the treasury. The Senate was consuming time on this question. As Cæsar did not want anything of the Senate then, but was employing the people only, he released the publicans from a third part of their contracts. For this unexpected favor, which was far beyond their deserts, the knights extolled Cæsar to the skies. Thus a more powerful body of defenders than that of the plebeians was added to Cæsar's support through one political act.

[1] The text is somewhat confused here. Mendelssohn suspects a lacuna.

[2] τοὺς δεδιότας, "those who were afraid." Mendelssohn suggests the addition of ἀντιστασιώτας, "the opposite party," to complete the sense.

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695 He gave spectacles and combats of wild beasts beyond his 59
means, borrowing money on all sides, and surpassing all former exhibitions in lavish display and splendid gifts, in consequence of which he was appointed governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions.

14. As Cæsar saw that he would be away from home a long time, and believed that envy would be in proportion to benefits conferred, he gave his daughter in marriage to Pompey, although she was betrothed to Cæpio, because he feared that even a friend might become envious of his great success. He promoted the boldest of his partisans to the principal offices for the ensuing year. He designated his friend Aulus Gabinius as consul, with Lucius Piso as his colleague, whose daughter, Calpurnia, Cæsar married, although Cato cried out that the government was debauched by marriages. For tribunes he chose Vatinius and Clodius Pulcher, although the latter had been suspected of an amour with the wife of Cæsar himself during a religious ceremony of women,[1] but whom Cæsar did not bring to trial because Clodius was very popular with the masses; but he divorced his wife. Others prosecuted Clodius for impiety at the sacred rites, and Cicero made the argument for the prosecution. When Cæsar was called as a witness he refused to testify against Clodius, but even raised him to the tribuneship as a foil to Cicero who was already decrying the triumvirate as tending toward monarchy. Thus Cæsar turned a private grievance to useful account and benefited one enemy in order to revenge himself on another. It appears, however, that Clodius had previously requited Cæsar by helping him to secure the governorship of Gaul.

[1] See vol. i. p. 47.

Chapter III

Clodius prosecutes Cicero for putting Citizens to Death without Trial — Cicero banished and recalled — Cæsar's Conference at Lucca — Bloodshed in the Forum — The Triumvirs divide the Government — Death of Cæsar's Daughter — Shocking State of Roman Political Life — Pompey and Milo — Assassination of Clodius — Disorders consequent thereon — Pompey made Sole Consul — His Law against Bribery

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696 15. Such were the acts of Cæsar's consulship. He then 58
laid down his magistracy and proceeded directly to his new government. Clodius now brought an accusation against Cicero for putting Lentulus and Cethegus and their followers to death without trial.[1] Cicero, who had exhibited the highest courage in that transaction, became utterly unnerved at his trial. He put on coarse raiment and, defiled with squalor and dirt, supplicated those whom he met in the streets, not being ashamed to annoy people who knew nothing about the business, so that his doings excited laughter rather than pity by reason of his unseemly aspect. Into such trepidation did he fall at this single trial of his own, although he had been managing other people's causes successfully all his life. In like manner they say that Demosthenes the Athenian did not stand his ground when accused, but fled before the trial. When Clodius interrupted Cicero's supplications on the streets with contumely, he gave way to despair and, like Demosthenes, went into voluntary exile. A multitude of his friends went out of the city with him, and the Senate recommended him to the attention of cities, kings, and princes. Clodius demolished his house and his villas. Clodius was so much elated by this affair that he compared himself with Pompey, who was then the most powerful man in Rome.

16. Accordingly, Pompey held out to Milo, who was Clodius' colleague in office and a bolder spirit than himself,

[1] The question whether Cicero was justified under Roman law in putting the conspirators to death without a trial has been the subject of endless controversy. It is treated with great force and clearness by Mr. Strachan-Davidson in his *Life of Cicero* (p. 151 *seq.*), who holds that he was so justified.

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696 the hope of the consulship, and incited him against Clo- 58
dius, and directed him to procure a vote for the recall of
Cicero. He hoped that when Cicero should come back he
would no longer speak against the existing status (the tri-
umvirate), remembering what he had suffered, but would
make trouble for Clodius and bring punishment upon him.
Thus Cicero, who had been exiled by means of Pompey,
697 was recalled by means of Pompey about sixteen months 57
after his banishment, and the Senate rebuilt his house and
his villas at the public expense. He was received mag-
nificently at the city gates. It is said that a whole day was
consumed by the greetings extended to him, as was the
case with Demosthenes when he returned.

698 17. In the meantime Cæsar, who had performed the 56
many brilliant exploits in Gaul and Britain which have been described in my Celtic history, had returned with vast riches to Cisalpine Gaul on the river Po to give his army a short respite from continuous fighting. From this place he sent large sums of money to many persons in Rome, to those who were holding the yearly offices and to persons otherwise distinguished as governors and generals, and they went thither by turns to meet him.[1] So many of them came that 120 lictors could be seen around him at one time, and more than 200 senators, some returning thanks for what they had already received, others asking for money or seeking some other advantage for themselves from the same quarter. All things were now possible to Cæsar by reason of his large army, his great riches, and his readiness to oblige everybody. Pompey and Crassus, his partners in the triumvirate, came also. In their conference it was decided that Pompey and Crassus should be elected consuls again and that Cæsar's governorship over his provinces should be extended for five years more. Thereupon they separated and Domitius Ahenobarbus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship against Pompey. When the appointed day came, both went down to the Campus Martius before daylight to attend the comitia. Their followers got into an altercation and came

[1] Plutarch (*Life of Cæsar*, 21) says that this conference took place at Lucca. He mentions the same number of lictors and of senators in attendance as those in the text.

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698 to blows, and finally somebody assaulted the torchbearer of Domitius with a sword. There was a scattering straightway, and Domitius escaped with difficulty to his own house. Even Pompey's clothing was carried home stained with blood, so great was the danger incurred by both candidates. 56

699 18. Accordingly, Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls and Cæsar's governorship was extended for five years according to the agreement. The provinces were allotted with an army to each consul in the following manner: Pompey chose Spain and Africa, but sent friends to take charge of them, he himself remaining in Rome. Crassus took Syria and the adjacent country because he wanted a war with the Parthians, which he thought would be easy as well as glorious and gainful. But when he took his departure from the city there were many unfavorable omens, and the tribunes forbade the war against the Parthians, who had done no wrong to the Romans. As he would not obey, they invoked public imprecations on him, which Crassus disregarded; wherefore he perished in Parthia, together with his son of the same name, and his army, not quite 10,000 of whom, out of 100,000, escaped to Syria. The disaster to Crassus will be described in my Parthian history. As the Romans were suffering from scarcity, they appointed Pompey the sole manager of the grain supply and gave him, as in his operations against the pirates, twenty assistants from the Senate. These he distributed in like manner among the provinces while he superintended the whole, and thus Rome was very soon provided with abundant supplies, by which means Pompey again gained great reputation and power. 55

700 19. About this time the daughter of Cæsar, who was married to Pompey, died in childbirth, and fear fell upon all lest, with the termination of this marriage connection, Cæsar and Pompey with their great armies should come into conflict with each other, especially as the commonwealth had been for a long time disorderly and unmanageable. The magistrates were chosen by means of money, and faction fights, with dishonest zeal, with the aid of stones and even swords. Bribery and corruption prevailed in the most scandalous manner. The people themselves went to the elections to be bought. A case was found 54

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700 where a deposit of 800 talents had been made to obtain the consulship. The consuls holding office yearly could not hope to lead armies or to command in war because they were shut out by the power of the triumvirate. The baser ones strove for gain, instead of military commands, at the expense of the public treasury or from the election of their own successors. For these reasons good men abstained from office altogether. The disorder was such that at one time the republic was without consuls for eight months, Pompey conniving at the state of affairs in order that there might be need of a dictator. 54

701 20. Many citizens began to talk to each other about this, 53
saying that the only remedy for existing evils was the one-man power, but that there was need of a man who combined strength of character and mildness of temper, thereby indicating Pompey, who had a sufficient army under his command and who appeared to be both a friend of the people and a leader of the Senate by virtue of his rank, a man of temperance and self-control and easy of access, or at all events so considered. This expectation of a dictatorship Pompey discountenanced in words, but in fact he did everything secretly to promote it, and willingly overlooked the prevailing disorder and the interregnum consequent upon it. Milo, who had assisted him in his controversy with Clodius, and had acquired great popularity by the recall of Cicero, now sought the consulship, as he considered it a favorable time in view of the present interregnum; but
702 Pompey kept postponing the comitia until Milo became 52
disgusted, believing that Pompey was false to him, and withdrew to his native town of Lanuvium, which they say was the first city founded in Italy by Diomedes on his return from Troy, and which is situated about 150 stades from Rome.

21. Clodius happened to be coming from his own country-seat on horseback and he met Milo at Bovillæ. They merely exchanged hostile scowls and passed along; but one of Milo's servants attacked Clodius, either because he was ordered to do so or because he wanted to kill his master's enemy, and stabbed him through the back with a dagger. Clodius' groom carried him bleeding into a neighboring inn. Milo followed with his servants and finished him, —

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702 whether he was still alive, or already dead, is not known, 52
— for, although he claimed that he had neither advised nor ordered the killing, he was not willing to leave the deed unfinished because he knew that he would be accused in any event. When the news of this affair was circulated in Rome, the people were thunderstruck, and they passed the night in the forum. When daylight came, the corpse of Clodius was displayed on the rostra. Some of the tribunes and the friends of Clodius and a great crowd with them seized it and carried it to the senate-house, either to confer honor upon it, as he was of senatorial birth, or as an act of contumely to the Senate for conniving at such deeds. There the more reckless ones collected the benches and chairs of the senators and made a funeral pile for him, which they lighted and from which the senate-house and many buildings in the neighborhood caught fire and were consumed with the corpse of Clodius.

22. Such was the hardihood of Milo that he was moved less by fear of punishment for the murder than by indignation at the honor bestowed upon Clodius at his funeral. He collected a crowd of slaves and rustics, and, after sending some money to be distributed among the people and buying Marcus Cælius, one of the tribunes, he came back to the city with the greatest boldness. Directly he entered, Cælius dragged him to the forum to be tried by those whom he had bribed, as though by an assembly of the people, pretending to be very indignant and not willing to grant any delay, but hoping that if those present should acquit him he would escape a more regular trial. Milo said that the deed was not premeditated, since one would not set out with such intentions encumbered with his luggage and his wife. The remainder of his speech was directed against Clodius as a desperado and a friend of desperadoes, who had set fire to the senate-house and burned it to ashes with his body. While he was still speaking the other tribunes, with the unbribed portion of the people, burst into the forum armed. Cælius and Milo escaped disguised as slaves, but there was a heavy slaughter of the others. Search was not made for the friends of Milo, but all who were met with, whether citizens or strangers, were killed, and especially those who wore fine clothes and gold rings. As

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702 the government was without order these ruffians, who were 52 for the most part slaves and were armed men against unarmed, indulged their rage and, making an excuse of the tumult that had broken out, they turned to pillage. They abstained from no crime, but broke into houses, looking for any kind of portable property, but pretending to be searching for the friends of Milo. For several days Milo was their excuse for burning, stoning, and every sort of outrage.

23. The Senate assembled in consternation and looked to Pompey, intending to make him dictator at once, for they considered this necessary as a cure for the present evils; but at the suggestion of Cato they appointed him consul without a colleague, so that by ruling alone he might have the power of a dictator with the responsibility of a consul. He was the first of consuls who had two of the greatest provinces, and an army, and the public money, and the one-man power in the city, by virtue of being sole consul. In order that Cato might not cause obstruction by his presence, it was decreed that he should go to Cyprus and take the island away from King Ptolemy — a law to that effect having been enacted by Clodius because once, when he was captured by pirates, the avaricious Ptolemy contributed only two talents for his ransom. When Ptolemy heard of the decree he threw his money into the sea and killed himself, and Cato settled the government of Cyprus. Pompey proposed the prosecution of offenders and especially of those guilty of bribery and corruption. He thought that the seat of the public disorder was there, and that by beginning there he should effect a speedy cure. He brought forward a law, that any citizen who chose to do so might call for an accounting from anybody who had held office from the time of his own first consulship to the present. This embraced a period of a little less than twenty years, during which Cæsar also had been consul; wherefore Cæsar's friends suspected that he included so long a time in order to cast reproach and contumely on Cæsar, and urged him to straighten out the present crookedness rather than stir up the past to the annoyance of so many distinguished men, among whom they named Cæsar. Pompey pretended to be indignant at the mention of Cæ-

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702 sar's name, as though he were above suspicion, and said that his own second consulship was embraced in the period, and that he had reached back a considerable time in order to effect a complete cure of the evils from which the republic had been so long wasting away. 52

Chapter IV

Prosecutions for Bribery — Cæsar authorized to stand for the Consulship while absent — Enmity of Marcellus — Attempts to deprive Cæsar of his Command — Curio insists that Pompey shall lay down his Command also — Increasing Hostility to Cæsar in the Senate — Pompey's Neglect of Preparations for War — The Consuls invest Pompey with the Defence of Italy

24. After making this answer he passed his law, and straightway there ensued a great number and variety of prosecutions. In order that the jurors might act without fear Pompey stationed soldiers around them and superintended them in person. The first ones convicted were absentees: Milo for the murder of Clodius; Gabinius both for violation of law and for impiety, because he had invaded Egypt without a decree of the Senate and contrary to the Sibylline books; Hypsæus, Memmius, Sextius, and many others for bribery and for corrupting the populace. The people interceded for Scaurus, but Pompey made proclamation that they should wait for the decision of the court. When the crowd again interrupted the accusers, Pompey's soldiers made a charge and killed several. Then the people held their tongues and Scaurus was convicted. All of them were banished. Gabinius was fined in addition. The Senate praised Pompey highly for these proceedings, voted him two more legions, and extended the term of his provincial government. As Pompey's law offered impunity to any one who should turn state's evidence, Memmius, who had been convicted of bribery, called Lucius Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey himself, to trial for like participation in bribery. Thereupon Pompey put on mourning and many of the jurors did the same. Memmius took pity on the republic and withdrew the accusation.

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702 25. Pompey, as though he had completed the reforms 52
that made the one-man power necessary, now made Scipio his colleague in the consulship for the remainder of the year. At the expiration of his term, however, although others were invested with the consulship, he was none the less the supervisor, and ruler, and all-in-all in Rome. He enjoyed the good-will of the Senate, particularly because they were jealous of Cæsar, who did not consult the Senate during his consulship, and because Pompey had so speedily restored the sick commonwealth, and had not made himself troublesome or offensive to any of them during his term of office. The banished ones went to Cæsar in crowds and advised him to beware of Pompey, saying that his law about bribery was especially directed against himself. Cæsar cheered them up and spoke well of Pompey. He also induced the tribunes to bring in a law to enable himself to stand for the consulship a second time while absent, and this was enacted while Pompey was still consul and without opposition from him. Cæsar suspected that the Senate would resist this project and feared lest he should be reduced to the condition of a private citizen and ex-
703 posed to his enemies. So he tried to retain his power 51
until he should be elected consul, and asked the Senate to grant him a little more time in his present command of Gaul, or of a part of it. Marcellus, who succeeded Pompey as consul, forbade it. They say that when this was announced to Cæsar, he clapped his hand on his sword-hilt and exclaimed, "This shall give it to me."[1]

26. Cæsar built the town of Novum Comum[2] at the

[1] This is a highly improbable tale. Cæsar was not in the least given to theatrical display. Plutarch (*Life of Cæsar*, 29) says: "It is said that one of Cæsar's centurions, who had been sent by him to Rome, standing before the senate-house one day, and being told that the Senate would not give a longer time in his government, clapped his hand on the hilt of his sword and said, 'But this shall give it.'"

[2] The modern Como. Strabo (v. 1. 6) says that Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, restored Como, which was then a town of moderate size oppressed by the neighboring Rhetians; that Gaius Scipio added about 3000 to its population, and that Cæsar added 5000 more, the most distinguished of whom were 500 Greeks. "To the latter," he continues, "Cæsar gave the right of citizenship and inscribed them among the colonists, but they did not live there permanently,

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703 foot of the Alps and gave it the Latin rights, which included 51
a provision that those who had exercised the yearly chief magistracy should be Roman citizens. One of these men, who had held this office and was consequently considered a Roman citizen, was beaten with rods for some reason by order of Marcellus in defiance of Cæsar — a punishment that was never inflicted on Roman citizens. Marcellus in his passion revealed his real intention that the blows should be the marks of the foreigner, and he told the man to carry his scars and show them to Cæsar. So insulting was Marcellus. Moreover, he proposed to send successors to take command of Cæsar's provinces before his time had expired, but Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness and good-will, saying that they ought not to put an indignity on a distinguished man who had been so extremely useful to his country, merely on account of a short interval of time; but he made it plain that Cæsar's command must come to an end immediately on its expiration. For this
704 reason the bitterest enemies of Cæsar were chosen consuls 50
for the ensuing year: Æmilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Cæsar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Cæsar was not able to influence Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that the latter was heavily burdened with debt. With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure.

27. Curio, in order that he might not be detected changing sides too suddenly, brought forward vast plans for repairing and building roads, of which he was to be superintendent for five years. He knew that he could not carry any such measure, but he hoped that Pompey's friends would oppose him so that he might have that as an excuse for opposing Pompey. Things turned out as he had antici-

although they gave the name to the settlement. All the inhabitants are called Neocomitæ which, by interpretation, means the people of Novum Comum." So it appears that the place was recruited by Cæsar, not originally founded by him.

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704 pated, so that he had a pretext for disagreement. Claudius proposed the sending of successors to take command of Cæsar's provinces, as his term was now expiring. Paulus was silent. Curio, who was thought to differ from both, praised the motion of Claudius, but added that Pompey ought to resign his provinces and army just like Cæsar, for in this way he said the commonwealth would be made free and be relieved from fear in all directions. Many opposed this as unjust, because Pompey's term had not yet expired. Then Curio came out more openly and decidedly against appointing successors to Cæsar unless Pompey also should lay down his command; for since they were both suspicious of each other, he contended that there could be no lasting peace to the commonwealth unless both were reduced to the character of private citizens. He said this because he knew that Pompey would not give up his command and because he saw that the people were incensed against Pompey on account of his prosecutions for bribery. As Curio's position was plausible, the plebeians praised him as the only one who was willing to incur the enmity of both Pompey and Cæsar in order to fulfil worthily his duties as a citizen; and once they escorted him home like an athlete, scattering flowers, as though he had won the prize in some great and difficult contest, for nothing was considered more perilous then than to have a difference with Pompey. 50

28. Pompey, while lying sick in Italy,[1] wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Cæsar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward, which he had not solicited, but had been called to serve the public weal. He added that the powers which he had accepted unwillingly he would gladly yield to those who wished to take them back, and would not wait the time fixed for their expiration. The artfulness of this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Cæsar, as though the latter was not willing to give up his command even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way

[1] Cicero makes mention of this illness of Pompey in the *Tusculan Disputations* (i. 35).

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704 and then, also, promised to lay down his command. As a friend and marriage connection of Cæsar he said that the latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power and now he would come back to his honors and his sacrificings[1] and take his rest. He said these things in order that successors to Cæsar might be sent at once, while he (Pompey) should merely stand on his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Cæsar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said, it would not be advisable either for Cæsar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Cæsar before his eyes, he would never lay it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them. In this way he concealed the fact that he had been bought by Cæsar. 50

29. Pompey was angry with him and threatened him and at once withdrew indignantly to his country-seat. The Senate now had suspicions of both, but it considered Pompey the better republican of the two, and it hated Cæsar because he had not shown it proper respect during his consulship. Some of the senators really thought that it would not be safe to the commonwealth to deprive Pompey of his power until after Cæsar should lay down his, since the latter was outside of the city and was the man of more towering designs. Curio held the contrary opinion, that they had need of Cæsar against the power of Pompey, or otherwise that both armies should be disbanded at the same time. As the Senate would not agree with him he dismissed it,

[1] *θυσίας*, "sacrificings." This refers, says Combes-Dounous, to Cæsar's duties as Pontifex Maximus, a life office, to which he had been chosen in his younger days.

Y.R. 704 leaving the whole business still unfinished. He had the B.C. 50
power to do so as tribune. Thus Pompey had occasion to regret that he had restored the tribunician power to its pristine vigor after it had been reduced to extreme feebleness by Sulla. Nevertheless, one decree was voted before the session was ended, and that was that Cæsar and Pompey should each send one legion of soldiers to Syria to defend the province on account of the disaster to Crassus. Pompey artfully recalled the legion that he had lately lent to Cæsar on account of the disaster to Cæsar's two generals, Titurius and Cotta. Cæsar awarded to each soldier 250 drachmas and sent the legion to Rome together with another of his own. As the expected danger did not show itself in Syria, these legions were sent into winter quarters at Capua.

30. The persons who had been sent by Pompey to Cæsar to bring these legions spread many reports derogatory to Cæsar and repeated them to Pompey. They said that Cæsar's army was wasted by protracted service, that the soldiers longed for their homes and would change to the side of Pompey as soon as they should cross the Alps. They spoke in this way either from ignorance or because they were corrupted. In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Cæsar and labored zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Cæsar also; for he gave with a lavish hand in order to mould them to his designs. They knew what his designs were, but they stood by him nevertheless. Pompey believed what was reported to him and collected neither soldiers nor apparatus suitable for so great a contest.[1] In the Senate the opinion of each member was asked and Claudius craftily divided the question and took the votes separately, thus: "Shall successors be sent to Cæsar?" and again, "Shall Pompey be deprived of his command?" The majority voted against the latter proposition, and it was

[1] A parallel passage in Plutarch says that "when some were saying that if Cæsar should turn his forces against the city, they could not see what power would be able to resist him, Pompey smiled, and with great unconcern bade them take no care of that, 'for,' he said, 'whenever I stamp upon the ground in any part of Italy there will rise up forces enough both horse and foot.'" (*Life of Pompey*, 57.)

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704 decreed that successors to Cæsar should be sent. Then 50
Curio put the question whether both should lay down their commands, and 22 senators voted in the negative while 370 went back to the opinion of Curio in order to avoid civil discord.[1] Then Claudius dismissed the Senate, exclaiming, "Enjoy your victory and have Cæsar for a master."

31. Suddenly a false rumor came that Cæsar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides. Claudius moved that the army at Capua be turned against Cæsar as a public enemy. When Curio opposed him on the ground that the rumor was false he exclaimed, "If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul." After saying this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the suburbs with his colleague, where he presented a sword to Pompey, and said, "I and my colleague command you to march against Cæsar in behalf of your country, and we give you for this purpose the army now at Capua, or in any other part of Italy, and whatever additional forces you yourself choose to levy." Pompey promised to obey the orders of the consuls, but he added, "unless we can do better," thus dealing in trickery and still making a pretence of fairness. Curio had no power outside of the city (for it was not permitted to the tribunes to go beyond the walls), but he publicly deplored the state of affairs and demanded that the consuls should make proclamation that nobody need obey the conscription ordered by Pompey. As he could accomplish nothing, and as his term of office as tribune was about expiring, and he feared for his safety and despaired of being able to render any further assistance to Cæsar, he hastily departed to join the latter.

[1] Mendelssohn marks the text at this place *turbata*.

CHAPTER V

Cæsar offers to lay down his Arms at the Same Time with Pompey — The Senate declares Cæsar a Public Enemy — Cæsar addresses his Soldiers — War openly declared — Cæsar crosses the Rubicon — Seizes Ariminum — Panic and Prodigies in Italy — Pompey departs to the Army at Capua

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704 32. Cæsar had lately recrossed the straits from Britain 50
and, after traversing the Gallic country along the Rhine, had passed the Alps with 5000 foot and 300 horse and arrived at Ravenna, which was contiguous to Italy and the last town in his government. After embracing Curio and returning thanks for what he had done for him, he looked over the present situation. Curio advised him to bring his whole army together now and lead it to Rome, but Cæsar thought it best still to try and come to terms. So he directed his friends to make an agreement in his behalf, that he should deliver up all his provinces and soldiers, except that he should retain two legions and Illyria with Cisalpine Gaul until he should be chosen consul. This was satisfactory to Pompey, but the consuls refused. Cæsar then wrote a letter to the Senate, which Curio carried a distance of 1300 stades[1] in three days and delivered to the newly elected consuls as they entered the senate-house on the first
705 of the calends of January.[2] The letter embraced a calm 49
recital of all that Cæsar had done from the beginning of his career and a proposal that he would lay down his command at the same time with Pompey, but that if Pompey should retain his command he would not lay down his own, but would come quickly and avenge his country's wrongs and his own. When this letter was read, as it was considered a declaration of war, a vehement shout was raised on all sides that Lucius Domitius be appointed as Cæsar's successor. Domitius took the field immediately with 4000 of the new levies.

33. Since Antony and Cassius, who succeeded Curio as tribunes, agreed with the latter in opinion, the Senate

[1] About 150 English miles. The Vatican codex says 1300 stades; all the others say 3300 (378 miles), which is quite incredible.

[2] Literally: "On the day of the new moon of the year."

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705 became more bitter than ever and declared Pompey's army 49 the protector of Rome, and that of Cæsar a public enemy. The consuls, Marcellus and Lentulus, ordered Antony and his friends out of the Senate lest they should suffer some harm, although they were tribunes. Then Antony sprang from his chair in anger and with a loud voice called gods and men to witness the indignity put upon the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, saying that while they (the tribunes) were expressing the opinion which they deemed conducive to the public interest, they were driven out with contumely though they had wrought no murder or other outrage. Having spoken thus he rushed out like one possessed, predicting war, slaughter, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and various other impending evils, and invoking direful curses on the authors of them. Curio and Cassius rushed out with him, for a detachment of Pompey's army was already observed standing around the senate-house. The tribunes made their way to Cæsar the next night with the utmost speed, concealing themselves in a hired carriage, and disguised as slaves. Cæsar showed them in this condition to his army, whom he excited by saying that his soldiers, after all their great deeds, had been stigmatized as public enemies and that distinguished men like these, who had dared to speak out for them, had been thus driven with ignominy from the city.[1]

34. The war had now been begun on both sides and already openly declared. The Senate, thinking that Cæsar's army would be slow in arriving from Gaul and that he would not rush into so great an adventure with a small force, directed Pompey to assemble 130,000 Italian soldiers, chiefly veterans who had had experience in war, and to recruit as many able-bodied men as possible from the neighboring provinces. They voted him for the war all the money in the public treasury at once, and their own private fortunes in addition if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers. With the fury of party rage they levied additional contributions on the allied cities, which

[1] This speech is reported by Cæsar himself at considerable length in his *Commentaries on the Civil War* (i. 7). It was made to the thirteenth legion, the only one present. The soldiers cried out that they were ready to defend their general and the tribunes from all harm.

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705 they collected with the greatest possible haste. Cæsar had 49 sent messengers to bring his own army, but as he was accustomed to rely upon the terror caused by the celerity and audacity of his movements, rather than on the magnitude of his preparations, he decided to take the aggressive in this great war with his 5000 men and to anticipate the enemy by seizing the advantageous positions in Italy.

35. Accordingly, he sent forward some centurions with a few of his bravest troops in peaceful garb to go inside the walls of Ariminum and take it by surprise. This was the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpine Gaul. Toward evening Cæsar himself rose from a banquet on a plea of indisposition, leaving some friends who were still feasting. He mounted his chariot and drove toward Ariminum, his cavalry following at a short distance. When his course brought him to the river Rubicon, which forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped and, while gazing at the stream, revolved in his mind the evils that might result from his crossing it with arms. Recovering himself he said to those who were present, "My friends, stopping here will be the beginning of sorrows for me; crossing over will be such for all mankind." Thereupon, he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the common phrase, "Let the die be cast."[1] Then he resumed his hasty journey and took possession of Ariminum about daybreak, advanced beyond it, stationed guards at the commanding positions, and, either by force or by kindness, mastered all whom he fell in with. As is usual in cases of panic, there was flight and migration from all the country-side in disorder and tears, the people having no exact knowledge, but thinking that Cæsar had arrived with an army of boundless strength.

36. When the consuls learned the facts they did not allow Pompey to act according to his own judgment, experienced as he was in military affairs, but urged him to traverse Italy and raise troops, as though the city were on

[1] "The Rubicon," says Duruy, "is probably the Fiumicino di Savignano, a reddish torrent twelve miles north of Ariminum, formed by the confluence of three brooks from the Apennines." Duruy doubts the whole story of Cæsar's hesitation at the Rubicon, but Plutarch (*Life of Cæsar*, 32) says that Asinius Pollio was present; and there is reason to believe that both Plutarch and Appian drew from Pollio's history.

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705 the point of being captured. The Senate also was alarmed 49
at Cæsar's unexpectedly swift advance, for which it was still unprepared, and in its panic repented that it had not accepted Cæsar's proposals, which it considered just at last, after fear had turned it from party rage to the counsels of prudence. Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It rained blood. Sweat issued from the statues of the gods. Lightning struck several temples. A mule gave birth to a colt.[1] There were many other prodigies which betokened an overturn and change in the form of government for all time. Prayers were offered up in public as was customary in times of danger, and the people who remembered the evil times of Marius and Sulla, clamored that both Cæsar and Pompey ought to lay down their commands as the only means of averting war. Cicero proposed to send messengers to Cæsar in order to come to an arrangement.[2]

37. As the consuls opposed all accommodation Favonius, in ridicule of Pompey for something he had said a little before, advised him to stamp on the ground with his foot and raise armies in that way. "You can have them," replied Pompey, "if you will follow me and not consider it such a terrible thing to leave Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves shall recover their homes." After saying this and after threatening those who should remain behind and desert their country's cause in order to save their fields and their goods, he left the Senate and the city immediately to take command of the army at Capua, and the consuls followed him. The other senators remained undecided a long time and

[1] This was a favorite prodigy among the Romans. It was observed when Sulla was advancing, after his war against Mithridates (i. 83 *supra*). Cicero alludes to the subject in his treatise on Divination (ii. 22).

[2] Plutarch (*Life of Pompey*, 59) says that Cicero, who had lately returned from Cilicia, labored to bring about a reconciliation, proposing that Cæsar should leave his province of Gaul and disband his army, reserving two legions only, together with the government of Illyricum, and be nominated for a second consulship. Cæsar's friends afterward reduced his claims to one legion, but even that was rejected.

Y.R. 705 passed the night together in the senate-house. At daybreak, however, most of them departed and hastened after Pompey. B.C. 49

CHAPTER VI

Cæsar captures Corfinium and L. Domitius — The Consuls cross over to Dyrrachium — Pompey escapes from Cæsar at Brundusium — Cæsar takes the Money from the Public Treasury — Cæsar marches to Spain — Captures the Pompeian Forces there

38. At Corfinium Cæsar came up with and besieged Lucius Domitius, who had been sent to be his successor in the command of Gaul but who did not have all of his 4000 men with him. The inhabitants of Corfinium captured him at the gates, as he was trying to escape, and brought him to Cæsar.[1] The latter received the soldiers of Domitius, who offered themselves to him, with kindness, in order to encourage others to join him, and he allowed Domitius to go unharmed wherever he liked, and to take his money with him.[2] He hoped perhaps that Domitius would stay with him on account of this beneficence, but he did not prevent him from joining Pompey. While these transactions were taking place so swiftly, Pompey hastened from Capua to Luceria and thence to Brundusium in order to cross the Adriatic to Epirus and complete his preparations for war there. He wrote letters to all the provinces and the commanders thereof, to princes, kings, and cities to send aid for carrying on the war with the greatest possible speed, and this they did zealously. Pompey's own army was in Spain ready to move wherever it might be needed.

[1] "If we may believe Lucan," says Combes-Dounous, "the soldiers of Domitius themselves delivered him to Cæsar:"

> Ecce nefas belli, reseratis agmina portis
> Captivum traxere ducem. (*Pharsalia*, ii. 506.)

There is better authority for this statement than Lucan. Cæsar affirms it in his detailed account of the military operations around Corfinium. (*Civil War*, i. 23.)

[2] Cæsar says that he allowed Domitius to take this money although he knew that it had been given to him by Pompey for the pay of his troops. (*Ibid.*)

Y.R. 705 Pompey gave some of the legions he already had in Italy B.C. 49
to the consuls to be moved from Brundusium to Epirus.

39. The consuls crossed safely to Dyrrachium,[1] which some persons, by reason of the following error, consider the same as Epidamnus. A barbarian king of the region, Epidamnus by name, built a city on the sea-coast and named it after himself. Dyrrachus, the son of his daughter and of Neptune (as is supposed), added a dockyard to it which he named Dyrrachium. When the brothers of this Dyrrachus made war against him, Hercules, who was returning from Erythea, formed an alliance with him for a part of his territory; wherefore the Dyrrachians claim Hercules as their founder because he had a share of their land, not that they repudiate Dyrrachus, but because they pride themselves on Hercules even more as a god. In the battle which took place it is said that Hercules killed Ionius, the son of Dyrrachus, by mistake, and that after performing the funeral rites he threw the body into the sea in order that it might bear his name.[2] At a later period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took possession of the city and the surrounding country. They were supplanted by the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who were displaced in their turn by the Liburnians, another Illyrian tribe, who were in the habit of making piratical expeditions against their neighbors, with very swift ships. Hence the Romans call swift ships *liburnicæ*, because these were the first ones they came in conflict with. The people who had been expelled from Dyrrachium by the Liburnians procured the aid of the Corcyreans, who then ruled the sea, and drove out the Liburnians. The Corcyreans mingled their own colonists with them and thus it came to be considered a Greek port;

[1] The modern Durazzo.

[2] The Ionian sea of the Greeks was the southern part of the Adriatic lying between Greece and Italy. Strabo (v. 1, 8) says that the Adriatic took its name from the town of Atria in Venetia. In another place (vii. 5, 10), he says: "The Ionian and the Adriatic have a common mouth, but there is this difference, that the first part of this sea was called the Ionian, and the interior portion, as far as the northern extremity, the Adriatic, but now the whole is called by the latter name. Theopompus says that the former of these names was derived from a man who ruled this region and was a native of Issa, and that the latter was derived from the river Adria." This river is the modern Tartaro.

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705 but the Corcyreans changed its name, because they considered it unpropitious, and called it Epidamnus from the town just above it, and Thucydides gives it that name also. Nevertheless, the former name prevailed finally and it is now called Dyrrachium. 49

40. A portion of Pompey's forces had crossed to Dyrrachium with the consuls. Pompey led the remainder to Brundusium, where he awaited the return of the ships that had carried the others over. Here Cæsar advanced against him, and he defended himself by walls and dug trenches in the city[1] until his fleet came back. Then he took his departure in the early evening, leaving the bravest of his troops on the walls. These also sailed away after nightfall, with a favorable wind. Thus Pompey and his whole army abandoned Italy and passed over to Epirus. Cæsar, seeing the general drift of public opinion toward Pompey, was at a loss which way to turn or from what point to begin the war. As he had apprehensions of Pompey's army in Spain, which was large and well disciplined by long service (lest while he was pursuing Pompey it should fall upon his rear), he decided to march to Spain and destroy that army first. He now divided his forces into five parts, one of which he left at Brundusium, another at Hydrus,[2] and another at Tarentum to guard Italy. Another he sent under command of Quintus Valerius to take possession of the grain-producing island of Sardinia, which he did. He sent Asinius Pollio to Sicily, which was then under the command of Cato. When Cato asked him whether he had brought the order of the Senate, or that of the people, to take possession of a government that had been assigned to another, Pollio replied, "The master of Italy has sent me on this business." Cato answered that in order to spare the lives of those under his command he would not make resistance

[1] Cæsar says that "Pompey, either alarmed at Cæsar's works, or because he had decided from the beginning to leave Italy, began to prepare for his departure as soon as his ships should return, and in order the more effectually to delay Cæsar's onset, lest the soldiers should break in while he was on the point of embarking, he blocked up the gates, built walls in the streets and avenues, dug ditches across the ways and drove sharpened stakes and branches of trees in them." (*Civil War*, i. 27.)

[2] The modern Otranto.

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705 there. He then sailed away to Corcyra and from Corcyra 49
to Pompey.[1]

41. Cæsar hastened to Rome. He found the people shuddering with recollection of the horrors of Marius and Sulla and he cheered them with the prospect and promise of clemency. In proof of his kindness to his enemies, he said that he had taken Lucius Domitius prisoner and allowed him to go away unharmed with his money. Nevertheless, he broke the bolts of the public treasury, and when Metellus, one of the tribunes, tried to prevent him from entering, threatened him with death. He took away money hitherto untouched, which, they say, had been deposited there long ago, at the time of the Gallic invasion, with a public curse upon anybody who should take it out except in case of a war with the Gauls. Cæsar said that he had subjugated the Gauls completely and thus released the commonwealth from the curse. He then placed Æmilius Lepidus in charge of the city, and the tribune, Mark Antony, in charge of Italy and of the army guarding it. Outside of Italy he chose Curio to take command of Sicily in place of Cato,[2] and Quintus Valerius for Sardinia. He sent Gaius Antonius to Illyria and intrusted Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius Crassus. He ordered the building of two fleets with all speed, one in the Adriatic and the other in the Tyrrhenian sea, and appointed Hortensius and Dolabella their admirals while they were still under construction.

42. Having prevailed so far as to make Italy inaccessible to Pompey, Cæsar went to Spain, where he encountered Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's lieutenants, and was worsted by them at first and afterward had an indecisive

[1] Asinius Pollio wrote a history of the civil wars from the year 60 to the battle of Philippi, which is lost. It is the subject of eulogy in one of the Odes of Horace (Lib. ii. Carm. 1). Mendelssohn and G. Thouret are of the opinion that both Appian and Plutarch drew from some Greek author who drew from Pollio. Appian refers to Pollio's history in Sec. 82 *infra*.

[2] The preceding section says that Asinius Pollio was sent to take command of Sicily. Cæsar himself says (i. 30) that he sent Curio to Sicily with three legions and ordered him, when he had recovered that island, to transport his army immediately to Africa. He adds that Cato was energetically preparing for war by land and sea, but that when he was advised of Curio's approach he fled from his province.

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705 engagement with them near the town of Ilerda.[1] He pitched his camp on some high ground and obtained his supplies by means of a bridge across the river Sicoris.[2] Suddenly a freshet of melting snow carried away his bridge and cut off a great number of his men on the opposite side. These were destroyed by the forces of Petreius. Cæsar himself, with the rest of his army, suffered very severely from the difficulty of the place, from hunger, from the weather, and from the enemy, his situation being in no wise different from that of a siege. Finally, on the approach of summer, Afranius and Petreius withdrew to the interior of Spain to recruit more soldiers, but Cæsar continually anticipated them, blocked their passage, and prevented their advance. He also surrounded one of their divisions that had been sent forward to capture his camp. They raised their shields over their heads in token of surrender, but Cæsar neither captured nor slaughtered them, but allowed them to go back to Afranius unharmed, after his usual manner of winning the favor of his enemies. Whence it came to pass that there was continual intercourse between the camps and talk of reconciliation among the rank and file. 49

43. To Afranius and some of the other officers it now seemed best to abandon Spain to Cæsar, provided they could go unharmed to Pompey. Petreius opposed this and ran through the camp killing those of Cæsar's men whom he found holding communication with his own. He even slew with his own hand one of his officers who tried to restrain him. Moved by these acts of severity on the part of Petreius, the minds of the soldiers were still more attracted to the clemency of Cæsar. Soon afterward Cæsar managed to cut off the enemy's access to water, and Petreius was compelled by necessity to come with Afranius to a conference with Cæsar between the two armies. Here it was agreed that they should abandon Spain to Cæsar, and that he should conduct them unharmed to the other side of the river Varus[3] and allow them to proceed thence to Pompey.

[1] The modern Lerida.

[2] The modern Segre.

[3] The modern Var. It rises in the Maritime Alps and empties into the Mediterranean near Nice.

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705 Arrived at this stream, Cæsar called a meeting of all those 49
who were from Rome or Italy and addressed them as follows: "My enemies (for by still using this term I shall make my meaning clearer to you), I did not destroy those of you who surrendered to me when you had been sent to seize my camp, nor the rest of your army when I had cut you off from water, although Petreius had previously slaughtered those of my men who were intercepted on the other side of the river Sicoris. If there is any gratitude among you for these favors tell them to all of Pompey's soldiers." After speaking thus he dismissed them uninjured, and he appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain. So much for the operations of Cæsar.[1]

Chapter VII

Campaign of Curio in Africa — He is defeated and killed — Mutiny in Cæsar's Army at Placentia — Cæsar chosen Dictator

44. Attius Varus commanded the Pompeian forces in Africa, and Juba, king of the Mauritanian Numidians, was in alliance with him. Curio sailed from Sicily against them in behalf of Cæsar with two legions, twelve war vessels, and a number of ships of burden. He landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as Imperator by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands. This title is an honor conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders. In the olden time the generals accepted this honor only for the greatest exploits. At present I understand that the distinction is limited to cases where at least 10,000 of the enemy have been killed. While Curio was crossing from Sicily the inhabitants of Africa thinking that, in emulation of the glory of Scipio, he would establish his quarters near the camp

[1] This is a very meagre account of the Ilerda campaign. That of Plutarch is still more so. A detailed narrative of it is given by Cæsar himself (i. 37–87), showing how he manœuvred the enemy into a surrender without coming to a general engagement.

Y.R. 705 of the latter, poisoned the water in the neighborhood. B.C. 49
Their expectation was fulfilled. Curio encamped there and his army immediately fell sick. When they drank the water their eyesight became dim as in a mist, and sleep with torpor ensued, and after that frequent vomiting and spasms of the whole body. For this reason Curio changed his camp to the neighborhood of Utica itself, leading his enfeebled army through an extensive marshy region. But when they received the news of Cæsar's victory in Spain they took courage and put themselves in order of battle in a narrow space along the seashore. Here a severe battle was fought in which Curio lost only one man, while Varus lost 600 killed, besides a still larger number wounded.[1]

45. Meantime, while Juba was advancing a false report preceded him, that he had turned back at the river Bagradas, which was not far distant, because his kingdom had been invaded by his neighbors, and that he had left Saburra, his general, with a small force at the river. Curio believed this report and about the third hour of a hot summer day led the greater part of his army against Saburra by a sandy road destitute of water; for even if there were any streams there in winter they were now dried up by the heat of the sun. He found the river in possession of Saburra and of the king himself. Disappointed in his expectation Curio retreated to some hills, oppressed by fatigue, heat, and thirst. When the enemy beheld him in this condition they crossed the river prepared for fight. Curio despised the danger and very imprudently led his enfeebled army down to the plain, where he was surrounded by the Numidian horse. Here for some time he sustained the attack by retiring slowly and drawing his men together into a small space, but being much distressed he retreated again to the hills. Asinius Pollio, at the beginning of the trouble, had retreated with a small force to the camp at Utica lest Varus should make an attack upon it as soon as he should hear the news of the disaster at the river. Curio perished fighting bravely, together with all his men, not one returning to Utica after Pollio. Such was the result of the battle at the

[1] This story, with its incredible disproportion of loss, is related also by Cæsar (ii. 35), who tells us that Varus had the advantage of position.

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705 river Bagradas. Curio's head was cut off and carried to Juba. 49

46. As soon as the news of this disaster reached the camp at Utica, Flamma, the admiral, fled, fleet and all, not taking a single one of the land forces on board, but Pollio rowed out in a small boat to the merchant ships that were lying at anchor near by and besought them to come to the shore and take the army on board. Some of them did so by night. The soldiers came aboard in such crowds that some of the small boats were sunk. Of those who were carried out to sea, and who had money with them, many were thrown overboard by the merchants for the sake of the money. So much for those who put to sea, but similar calamities, while it was still night, befell those who remained on shore. At daybreak they surrendered themselves to Varus, but Juba came up and, having collected them under the walls, put them all to the sword, claiming that they were the remainder of his victory, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of even Varus. Thus the two Roman legions that sailed to Africa with Curio were totally destroyed, together with the cavalry, the light-armed troops, and the servants belonging to the army. Juba, after vaunting his great exploit to Pompey, returned home.

47. About this time [Gaius] Antonius was defeated in Illyria by Pompey's lieutenant, Octavius, and another army of Cæsar mutinied at Placentia, crying out against their officers for prolonging the war and not paying them the five minæ[1] that Cæsar had promised them as a donative while they were still at Brundusium. When Cæsar heard of this he flew from Massilia to Placentia and coming before the soldiers, who were still in a state of mutiny, addressed them as follows: "You know what kind of speed I use in everything I undertake. This war is not prolonged by us, but by the enemy, who have fled from us. You reaped great advantages from my command in Gaul, and you took an oath to me for the whole of this war and not for a part only; and now you abandon us in the midst of our labors, you revolt against your officers, you propose to give orders to those from whom you are bound to receive orders. Being

[1] The silver mina was equal to about $18 of our money.

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705 myself the witness of my liberality to you heretofore I shall 49
now execute the law of our country[1] by decimating the ninth legion, where this mutiny began." Straightway a cry went up from the whole legion, and the officers threw themselves at Cæsar's feet in supplication. Cæsar yielded little by little and so far remitted the punishment as to designate 120 only (who seemed to have been the leaders of the revolt), and chose twelve of these by lot to be put to death. One of the twelve proved that he was absent when the conspiracy was formed, and Cæsar put to death in his stead the centurion who had accused him.

48. After thus quelling the mutiny at Placentia Cæsar proceeded to Rome, where the trembling people chose him dictator without any decree of the Senate and without the intervention of a magistrate. But he, either deprecating the office as likely to prove invidious or not desiring it, after holding it only eleven days (as some say) designated himself and Publius Isauricus as consuls.[2] He appointed or changed the governors of provinces according to his own pleasure. He assigned Marcus Lepidus to Spain, Aulus Albinius to Sicily, Sextus Peducæus to Sardinia, and Decimus Brutus to the newly acquired Gaul. He distributed corn to the suffering people and at their petition he allowed the return of all exiles except Milo. When he was asked to decree an abolition of debts, on the ground that the wars and seditions had caused a fall of prices, he refused it, but appointed appraisers of vendible goods which debtors might give to their creditors instead of money.[3]

[1] "The Greek text in several old MSS. at this place reads Πετρηίῳ νόμῳ which supposes a Petreian law totally unknown in Roman history. Casaubon was the first to perceive that it ought to read πατρίῳ νόμῳ instead of πετρηίῳ. Tollius sustained the correction of Casaubon and the MS. of the library of Augsburg and that of Venice, verified by Schweighäuser, have confirmed it." (*Combes-Dounous.*) The phrase occurs again in Sec. 63 *infra.*

[2] Cæsar says that while he was at Massilia he learned that a law had been passed for creating a dictator and that he had been named for that office by Marcus Lepidus, the prætor.

[3] Cæsar's account of this matter is as follows: "Since credit was at a low ebb in the whole of Italy and debts could not be paid in money, Cæsar decided that arbiters should be appointed to appraise the property and possessions of the debtors at their value before the war and hand them over to the creditors." (*Civil War,* iii. 1.)

Y.R. 705 When this had been done, about the winter solstice, he B.C. 49 sent for his whole army to rendezvous at Brundusium and he himself took his departure in the month of December, according to the Roman calendar, not waiting for the beginning of his consulship on the calends of the new year, which was close at hand. The people followed him to the city gates, urging him to come to an arrangement with Pompey, for it was evident that whichever of them should conquer would wield sovereign power. Cæsar departed on his journey and travelled with all possible speed.

Chapter VIII

Pompey's Forces — Pompey's Speech to his Army — Cæsar at Brundusium — He addresses his Soldiers — Cæsar sails for Epirus — Captures Oricum and Apollonia — Marches toward Dyrrachium — Encamps before it

49. In the meantime Pompey was using all diligence to build ships and collect additional forces of men and money. He captured forty of Cæsar's ships in the Adriatic and guarded against his crossing. He disciplined his army and took part in the exercises of both infantry and cavalry, and was foremost in everything, notwithstanding his age. In this way he readily gained the good-will of his soldiers; and the people flocked to see Pompey's military drills as to a spectacle. Cæsar at that time had ten legions of infantry and 10,000 Gallic horse. Pompey had five legions from Italy, with which he had crossed the Adriatic, and the cavalry belonging to them; also the two surviving legions that had served with Crassus in the Parthian war and a certain part of those who had made the incursion into Egypt with Gabinius, making altogether eleven legions of Italian troops and about 7000 horse. He had auxiliaries also from Ionia, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Bœotia, Cretan archers, Thracian slingers, and Pontic javelin-throwers. He had also some Gallic horse and others from Galatia in the east, together with Commageneans sent by Antiochus, Cilicians, Cappadocians, some from Lesser Armenia, also Pamphylians and Pisidians. Pompey did not intend to use all these for fighting. Some were em-

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705 ployed in garrison duty, in building fortifications, and in 49
other service for the Italian soldiers, so that none of the latter should be kept away from the battles. Such were Pompey's land forces. He had 600 war-ships perfectly equipped, of which about 100 were manned by Romans and were understood to be much superior to the rest. He also had a great number of transports and ships of burthen. There were numerous naval commanders for the different divisions, and Marcus Bibulus had the chief command over all.

50. When all was in readiness Pompey called the senators, the knights, and the whole army to an assembly and addressed them as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the Athenians, too, abandoned their city for the sake of liberty when they were fighting against invasion, because they believed that it was not houses that made a city, but men; and after they had done so they presently recovered it and made it more renowned than even before. So, too, our own ancestors abandoned the city when the Gauls invaded it, and Camillus hasted from Ardea and recovered it. All men of sound mind think that their country is wherever they can preserve their liberty. Because we were thus minded we sailed hither, not as deserters of our native land, but in order to prepare ourselves to defend it gloriously against one who has long conspired against it, and, by means of bribe-takers, has at last seized Italy by a sudden invasion, and whom you have decreed a public enemy. He now sends governors to take charge of your provinces. He appoints others over the city and still others throughout Italy. With such audacity has he deprived the people of their own government. If he does these things while the war is still raging and while he is apprehensive of the result and when we intend, with a god's help, to bring him to punishment, what cruelty, what violence is he likely to abstain from if he wins the victory? And while he is doing these things against the fatherland certain men, who have been bought with money that he obtained from our province of Gaul, coöperate with him, choosing to be his slaves instead of his equals.

51. "I have not failed and I never will fail to fight with you and for you. I give you my services both as soldier

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705 and as general. If I have had any experience in war, if it 49 has been my good fortune to remain unvanquished to this day, I pray the gods to continue all these blessings in our present need and that I may become a man of destiny for my country in her perils as I was in extending her dominion. Surely we may trust in the gods and in the righteousness of the war, which has for its noble and just object the defence of our country's constitution. In addition to this we may rely upon the magnitude of the preparations which we behold on land and sea, which are all the time growing and will be augmented still more as soon as we come into action. We may say that all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and barbarian, stand with us, and the kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions, and other implements of war. Come to your task then with a spirit worthy of your country, of yourselves, and of me, mindful of the wrongs you have received from Cæsar, and ready to obey my orders promptly."

52. When Pompey had thus spoken the whole army, including the senators and a great many of the nobility who were with him, applauded him vociferously and told him to lead them wherever he would. Pompey thought that as the weather was bad and the sea boisterous Cæsar would not attempt to cross till the end of winter, but would be occupied in the meantime with his duties as consul. So he ordered his naval officers to keep watch of the sea, and then divided his army and sent it into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia. So heedlessly did Pompey form his judgment of what was about to take place. Cæsar, as I have already said, hastened to Brundusium about the winter solstice, intending to strike terror into his enemies by taking them by surprise. Although he found neither provisions, nor apparatus, nor his whole army collected at Brundusium, he, nevertheless, called those who were present to an assembly and addressed them as follows: —

53. "Fellow-soldiers, — you who are joined with me in the greatest of undertakings, — neither the winter weather, nor the delay of our comrades, nor the want of suitable preparation shall check my onset. I consider rapidity of movement the best substitute for all these things. I think

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705 that we who are first at the rendezvous should leave behind 49
us here our servants, our pack-animals, and all our apparatus in order that the ships which are here may take us on board and carry us over at once without the enemy's knowledge. Let us oppose our good fortune to the winter weather, our courage to the smallness of our numbers, and to our want of supplies the abundance of the enemy, which will be ours to take as soon as we touch the land, if we realize that nothing is ours unless we conquer. Let us go then and possess ourselves of their servants, their apparatus, their provisions, while they are spending the winter under cover. Let us go while Pompey thinks that I am spending my time in winter quarters also, or in processions and sacrifices appertaining to my consulship. It is needless to tell you that the most potent thing in war is the unexpected. It will be glorious for us to carry off the first honors of the coming conflict and to prepare a safe pathway yonder for those who will immediately follow us. For my part I would rather now be sailing than talking, so that I may come in Pompey's sight while he thinks me engaged in my official duties at Rome. Although I am certain that you agree with me I await your response."[1]

54. The whole army cried out with enthusiasm that he should lead on. Cæsar at once led, from the platform to the seashore, five legions of foot-soldiers and 600 chosen horse, but as a storm came up he was obliged to cast anchor. It was now the winter solstice and the wind kept him back, against his will, and held him in Brundusium, to his great disappointment, until the first day of the new
706 year.[2] In the meantime two more legions arrived and 48
Cæsar embarked these also and started in the winter time on merchant ships, for he had only a few war-ships and these were guarding Sardinia and Sicily. The ships were driven by the winds to the Ceraunian Mountains and Cæsar

[1] Cæsar's account of his own speech is much briefer, viz: "When Cæsar arrived at Brundusium he addressed his soldiers saying that since they were almost at the end of their labors and perils they should be content to leave their slaves and impedimenta in Italy and embark themselves in the ships in light order so that a greater number of troops could be transported, and that they might expect everything from victory and his liberality." (iii. 6.)

[2] Cæsar says that he sailed on the fourth day of January.

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706 sent them back immediately to bring the rest of the army.[1] 48
He then marched by night against the town of Oricum by a rough and narrow path, with his force divided in several parts on account of the difficulties of the road, so that if his army had been anticipated he might have been easily beaten. With much trouble he got his detachments together about daylight and the commander of the garrison of Oricum, having been forbidden by the townsmen to oppose the entrance of a Roman consul, delivered the keys of the place to Cæsar and remained with him in a position of honor. Lucretius and Minucius, who were on the other side of Oricum with eighteen war-ships guarding merchant ships loaded with corn for Pompey, sunk the latter to prevent them from falling into Cæsar's hands, and fled to Dyrrachium. From Oricum Cæsar hastened to Apollonia,[2] the inhabitants of which received him. Straberius, the commander of the garrison, abandoned the city.

55. Cæsar assembled his army and congratulated them on the success they had achieved by their rapid movement in mid-winter, on conquering such a sea without war-ships, on taking Oricum and Apollonia without a fight, and on capturing the enemy's supplies, as he had predicted, without Pompey's knowledge. "If we can anticipate him in reaching Dyrrachium, his military arsenal," he added, "we shall be in possession of all the things they have collected by the labors of a whole summer." After speaking thus he led his soldiers directly toward Dyrrachium over a long road, not stopping day or night. Pompey, being advised beforehand, marched toward the same place from Macedonia[3] with extreme haste also, cutting down trees along

[1] Cæsar tells of another effort which he made for peace by sending Vibullius Rufus to Pompey with a proposal that both should disband their armies within three days. Pompey refused to discuss the proposal, saying: "Of what use to me is life or citizenship if I shall seem to owe them to the benefaction of Cæsar, a belief which will never be erased if it is supposed that I am thus brought back to Italy from which I departed." (iii. 10–18.)

[2] The modern Pollina. It was situated on the southern border of Illyria. The Egnatian Way, the Roman military road to Macedonia and the East, ran from Apollonia and Dyrrachium to Thessalonica. (Strabo, vii. 7, 4.)

[3] Cæsar says that Pompey was at Candavia. This was the name of a

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706 the road, in order to obstruct Cæsar's passage, destroying bridges, and setting fire to all the supplies he met with, considering it of the greatest importance (as it was) to defend his own arsenal. If either of them saw any dust, or fire, or smoke at a distance they thought it was caused by the other, and they strove like athletes in a race. They did not allow themselves time for food or sleep. All was haste and eagerness mingled with the shouts of guides who carried torches, causing tumult and fear as when hostile armies are ever drawing nearer and nearer to each other. Some of the soldiers from fatigue threw away their loads. Others hid themselves in ravines and were left behind, exchanging their fear of the enemy for a moment's rest. 48

56. In the midst of such vicissitudes on either side Pompey arrived first at Dyrrachium and encamped near it. He sent a fleet and retook Oricum and kept the strictest watch on the sea. Cæsar pitched his camp so that the river Alor[1] ran between himself and Pompey. By crossing the stream they had occasional cavalry skirmishes with each other. The armies did not come to a general engagement, however, for Pompey was still exercising his new levies and Cæsar waited for the forces left at Brundusium. The latter apprehended that if these should sail in merchant ships in the spring they would not escape Pompey's triremes, which would be patrolling the sea, as guard ships, in great numbers, but if they should cross in winter while the enemy were lying inside among the islands they might perhaps be unnoticed, or might force their way by the strength of the wind and the size of their ships. So he sent orders to them to hasten. As they did not come he decided to cross over secretly to that army, because no one else could bring them so easily. He concealed his intention and sent three servants to the river, a distance of twelve stades, to procure a fast-sailing vessel and a first rate pilot as for a messenger sent by Cæsar.

mountain range also. It was situated on the Egnatian Way in Illyria and was nearer to Dyrrachium than Apollonia was. Cæsar's course took him northwardly to a junction with the main road about midway between Candavia and Dyrrachium. Pompey going westward passed this junction first and had Cæsar in his rear.

[1] Cæsar and all other authorities say the river Apsus.

Chapter IX

Cæsar attempts to cross the Adriatic in a Small Boat — Sends for Reënforcements — Antony arrives with the remainder of the Army — Skirmishes at Dyrrachium — Cæsar attempts to surround Pompey — Battle of Dyrrachium — Cæsar defeated

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706 57. Then he rose from supper pretending to be fatigued 48 and told his friends to remain at the table. He put on the clothing of a private person, stepped into a chariot, and drove away to the ship, pretending to be the one sent by Cæsar. He gave the rest of his orders through his servants and remained concealed by the darkness of the night and unrecognized. As there was a severe wind blowing the servants told the pilot to be of good courage and seize this opportunity to avoid the enemy who were in the neighborhood. The pilot made his way down the river by rowing. When they came toward the mouth they found it broken into surf by the wind and the sea. The pilot at the instigation of the servants put forth all his efforts, but as he could make no progress he became fatigued and gave it up. Then Cæsar threw off his disguise and called out to him, "Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Cæsar and Cæsar's fortunes." Both the rowers and the pilot were astounded and all took fresh courage and gained the mouth of the river, but the wind and waves cast the ship high on the bank. As the dawn was near and they feared lest the enemy should discover them in the daylight, Cæsar, after accusing his evil genius for its invidiousness, allowed the ship to return, and it sailed up the river with a strong wind.[1]

58. Some of Cæsar's friends were astonished at this act of bravery; others blamed him, saying that it was a deed becoming a soldier but not a general. As Cæsar saw that he could not conceal a second attempt he ordered Postumius to sail to Brundusium in his place and tell Gabinius to cross over with the army immediately, and if he did not obey, to give the same order to Antony, and if he failed

[1] This incident is related by Plutarch, Florus, Valerius Maximus, and Suetonius, but not by Cæsar himself.

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706 then to give it to Calenus. Another letter was written to 48
the whole army in case all three should hesitate, saying, "that every one who was willing to do so should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place where the wind might carry them, and not to mind what happened to the ships, because Cæsar did not want ships but men." Thus did Cæsar put his trust in fortune rather than in prudence.[1] Pompey, in order to anticipate Cæsar's reënforcements, made haste and led his army forward prepared for battle. While two of his soldiers were searching in midstream for the best place to cross the river, one of Cæsar's men attacked and killed them both, whereupon Pompey drew back, as he considered this event inauspicious. All of his friends blamed him for missing this capital opportunity.

59. When Postumius arrived at Brundusium Gabinius did not obey the order, but led those who were willing to go with him by way of Illyria by forced marches. Almost all of them were destroyed by the Illyrians and Cæsar was obliged to endure the outrage on account of his preoccupation. Antony embarked the remainder of the army and sailed for Apollonia with a favorable wind. About noon the wind failed and twenty of Pompey's ships, that had put out to search the sea, discovered and pursued them. There was great fear on Cæsar's vessels lest in this calm the warships of the enemy should ram them with their prows and sink them. They prepared themselves for battle and began to discharge stones and darts, when suddenly the wind sprang up stronger than before, filled their great sails unexpectedly, and enabled them to complete their voyage without fear. The pursuers were left behind and they suffered severely from the wind and waves in the narrow sea and were scattered along a harborless and rocky coast. With

[1] Cæsar's account of this matter is as follows: "As these things made Cæsar anxious he wrote more imperatively to his forces at Brundusium that they should not omit the opportunity of the first favorable wind for sailing, and that they should direct their course either to the shore of Apollonia, or to that of the Labeates, because there they might beach their ships. These places were not frequented by the enemy's blockading fleet because they dared not venture very far from their harbors." (iii. 25.)

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706 difficulty they captured two of Cæsar's ships that ran on a shoal. Antony brought the remainder to the port of Nymphæum.[1] 48

60. Now Cæsar had his whole army together and so had Pompey his. They encamped opposite each other on hills in numerous redoubts. There were frequent collisions around each of these redoubts while they were making lines of circumvallation and trying to cut off each other's supplies. In one of these fights in front of a redoubt Cæsar's men were worsted, and a centurion, of the name of Scæva, while performing many deeds of valor, was wounded in the eye with a dart. He advanced in front of his men beckoning with his hand as though he wished to say something. When silence was obtained he called out to one of Pompey's centurions, who was likewise distinguished for bravery, "Save one of your equals, save your friend, send somebody to lead me by the hand, for I am wounded." Two soldiers advanced to him thinking that he was a deserter. One of these he killed before the stratagem was discovered and he cut off the shoulder of the other. This he did because he despaired of saving himself and his redoubt. His men, moved by shame at this act of self-devotion, rushed forward and saved the redoubt. Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scæva, lost an eye.[2] Cæsar honored them both with many

[1] This adventure is described in similar terms but at greater length by Cæsar, who says that the pursuing ships, sixteen in number, were driven upon the shore and wrecked, without a single exception, and that their crews were either killed by being dashed on the rocks or captured by his own men. The survivors, who were Rhodians, were all sent home unharmed. The loss of two of Antony's fleet is described differently. These two became separated from the main body, lost their way and came to anchor in front of Lissus three miles south of Nymphæum. Here they were attacked by another detachment of Pompey's naval force. One of them, containing 220 new recruits, surrendered on the promise of safety, but they were all put to the sword as soon as they reached land. The other containing 200 veterans was beached and the occupants reached the shore where they defeated a detachment of Pompey's horse and made their way to Cæsar. (iii. 26–28.)

[2] Cæsar says that it was the shield of Scæva that was pierced in 120 places and that Cæsar rewarded him with a large sum of

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706 military gifts. A certain man of Dyrrachium having offered to betray the town to him, Cæsar went by agreement with a small force by night to the gates at the temple of Artemis.[1] . . . The same winter Pompey's father-in-law (Scipio) advanced with another army from Syria. Cæsar's general, Gaius Calvisius, had an engagement with him in Macedonia, was beaten, and lost a whole legion except 800 men. 48

61. As Cæsar could obtain no supplies by sea, on account of Pompey's naval superiority, his army began to suffer from hunger and was compelled to make bread from herbs.[2] When deserters brought loaves of this kind to Pompey, thinking that he would be gladdened by the spectacle, he was not at all pleased, but said, "What kind of wild beasts are we fighting with?" Then Cæsar, compelled by necessity, drew his whole army together in order to force Pompey to fight even against his will. The latter occupied a number of the redoubts that Cæsar had vacated and remained quiet. Cæsar was greatly vexed at this and ventured upon an extremely difficult and chimerical task; that is, to carry a line of circumvallation around the whole of Pompey's positions from sea to sea, thinking that even if he should fail he would acquire great renown from the boldness of the enterprise.[3] The circuit was 1200

money and promoted him to be the first centurion instead of the eighth.

[1] There is a lacuna in the text at this place but it is filled by Dio Cassius (xli. 50), who relates the same event thus: "Cæsar, having attempted to corrupt the defenders, advanced by night to Dyrrachium itself by a narrow passage between a marsh and the sea, expecting that it would be betrayed. There he was attacked by a large force in front and by another in the rear. The latter were conveyed in ships and fell upon him unexpectedly. He lost many of his men and narrowly escaped himself."

[2] Both Plutarch and Cæsar say roots. "Those who were away from the fortifications," says the latter, "found a kind of root which is called 'chara,' which, mixed with milk, greatly relieved their want of food. They fashioned it into the similitude of bread, and they had abundance of it." (iii. 48.)

[3] Cæsar says that his reasons for this were threefold: to prevent Pompey from interfering with his foragers, to prevent Pompey himself from foraging, and to destroy his prestige by showing him to the world besieged, and as one who dared not fight in the open. (iii. 43.)

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706 stades.[1] So, great was the work that Cæsar undertook. Pompey built a line of countervallation. Thus they parried each other's efforts. Nevertheless, they fought one great battle in which Pompey defeated Cæsar in the most brilliant manner and pursued his men in headlong flight to his camp and took many of his standards. The eagle (the standard held in highest honor by the Romans) was saved with difficulty, the bearer having just time to throw it over the palisade to those within. 48

62. While this remarkable defeat was in progress Cæsar brought up other troops from another quarter, but these also fell into a panic even when they beheld Pompey still far distant. Although they were already close to the gates they would neither make a stand, nor enter in good order, nor obey the commands given to them, but all fled pell-mell without shame, without orders, without reason. Cæsar ran among them and with reproaches showed them that Pompey was still far distant, yet under his very eye some threw down their standards and fled, while others bent their gaze upon the ground in shame and did nothing; so great consternation had befallen them. One of the standard bearers, with his standard reversed, dared to thrust the end of it at Cæsar himself, but the attendants of the latter cut him down. When the soldiers entered the camp they did not station any guards. All precautions were neglected and the fortification was left unprotected, so that it is probable that Pompey might then have captured it and brought the war to an end by that one engagement had not Labienus, misled by a god, persuaded him to pursue the fugitives instead. Moreover Pompey himself hesitated, either because he suspected a stratagem when he saw the gates unguarded or because he considered the war already decided by this battle. So he turned against those outside of the camp and made a heavy slaughter and took twenty-eight standards in the two engagements of this day, but he here missed his second opportunity to give the finishing stroke to the war. It is reported that Cæsar said, "The war would have been ended to-day in the enemy's favor if

[1] The text here is probably corrupt. The distance mentioned is equal to 133 miles. Cæsar (iii. 63) says that it was 17 miles; Florus (iv. 2) says 16 miles.

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706 they had had a commander who knew how to make use of 48
a victory."[1]

CHAPTER X

Cæsar encourages his Men — Marches to Thessaly — Pompey encamps at Pharsalus — Cæsar short of Supplies — Pompey prefers Delay but is overruled by his Council — Prodigies before the Battle — The Armies at Pharsalus — Allies and Mercenaries

63. Pompey sent letters to all the kings and cities magnifying his victory, and he expected that Cæsar's army would come over to him directly, conceiving that it was oppressed by hunger and cast down by defeat, and especially the officers because apprehensive of punishment for their bad conduct in the battle. But the latter, as though some god had brought them to repentance, were ashamed of their fault, and as Cæsar chided them gently and granted them pardon, they became still more angry with themselves and by a surprising change demanded that they should be decimated according to the law of their country. When Cæsar did not agree to this they were still more mortified, and acknowledged that he had been shamefully treated by them. They cried out that he should at least put the standard bearers to death because they themselves would never have run away unless the standards had turned in flight first.

[1] Cæsar's account of the battle of Dyrrachium and of the causes of his defeat is embodied in Sections 59-71, Book iii. Two Allobrogian cavalry officers deserted to Pompey because they had been detected embezzling the pay of their own troops. They informed Pompey that a section of Cæsar's line of circumvallation was still unfinished. It was through this gap that Pompey made his sally at daybreak, taking Cæsar's forces by surprise and throwing them into a panic. The two engagements in one day, to which Appian refers, were the fight which took place at this gap, and the subsequent one when Cæsar brought up reënforcements and made a counter attack which ended disastrously by reason of one of those accidents common in war. The ruin of Cæsar's army would have been complete, he says, had not Pompey suspected an ambuscade and therefore desisted from an attack on Cæsar's fortified camp. Cæsar acknowledges the loss of 32 military tribunes and centurions and 969 soldiers besides several Roman knights whom he names. Excellent diagrams of these operations and of the fighting around Dyrrachium, as well as of the battle of Pharsalus, are given in the military history of Cæsar by Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

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706 Cæsar would not consent to this, but he reluctantly punished a few. So great was the zeal excited among all by his moderation that they demanded to be led against the enemy immediately. They urged him vehemently, beseeching and promising to wipe out their disgrace by a splendid victory. Of their own accord they visited each other in military order and took an oath by companies, under the eye of Cæsar himself, that they would not leave the field of battle except as victors.[1] 48

64. Wherefore Cæsar's friends urged him to avail himself of the army's repentance and eagerness promptly, but he said in the hearing of the host, that he would take a better opportunity to lead them against the enemy, and he exhorted them to be mindful of their present zeal. He privately admonished his friends that it was necessary first for the soldiers to recover from the very great alarm of their recent defeat, and for the enemy to lose something of their present high confidence. He confessed also that he had made a mistake in encamping before Dyrrachium where Pompey had abundance of supplies, whereas he ought to have drawn him to some place where he would be subject to the same scarcity as themselves. After saying this he marched directly to Apollonia and from there to Thessaly, advancing by night in order to conceal his movements. The small town of Gomphi[2] to which he came refused to open its gates to him, and he took it by storm and allowed his army to plunder it. The soldiers, who had suffered much from hunger, stuffed themselves immoder-

[1] This agrees with the account given by Cæsar himself of what took place in his camp after his defeat at Dyrrachium. He made a speech to his soldiers in which he dwelt on the great success they had achieved prior to the last battle, and said that if all their efforts had not been equally successful they must repair the defects of Fortune with greater industry. "But whether their own panic," he continued, "or some mistake, or Fortune itself had snatched from them a victory already gained and assured, the utmost effort should be made so that the disaster incurred might be repaired by their bravery. If this were done the loss they had suffered would redound to their advantage, as had been the case at Gergovia (in Gaul), and those who had been timid in fighting before would now go into battle fearlessly." (iii. 73.)

[2] This could not have been a small town if it furnished the amount of food and wine which the text implies. Cæsar speaks of it as "oppido pleno atque opulento."

Y.R. 706 ately and drank wine to excess. The Germans among them B.C. 48 were especially ridiculous under the influence of drink. It seems probable that Pompey might have attacked them then and gained another victory had he not disdainfully neglected a close pursuit. After seven days of rapid marching Cæsar encamped near Pharsalus. It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were found lying on the floor in an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, and that one of them, like a physician, was seated in a chair and had dealt out poison to them.[1]

65. After Cæsar had withdrawn Pompey called a council of war, at which Afranius advised that they should make use of their naval force in which they were much superior, and being masters of the sea should harass Cæsar, who was now wandering and destitute, and that Pompey himself should conduct his infantry with all haste to Italy, which was well disposed toward him and was now free from a hostile army. Having mastered it, together with Gaul and Spain, they could attack Cæsar again from their own home, the seat of imperial power. Although this was the best possible advice Pompey disregarded it and allowed himself to be persuaded by those who said that Cæsar's army would presently desert to him on account of hunger, and that there was not much left of it anyway after the victory of Dyrrachium. They said it would be disgraceful to abandon the pursuit of Cæsar when he was in flight, and for the victor to flee as though vanquished.[2] Pompey sided with these advisers

[1] This incident contains a whole volume of the horrors of war to non-combatants in the ancient world. Here was a prosperous town of Thessaly blotted out of existence in a few hours' time. Cæsar says that the Thessalians at first espoused his cause but that they turned against him when they heard of his defeat at Dyrrachium. Naturally so. As they had no interest in the quarrel they were bound to be on the stronger side if they knew which it was. Their principal citizens guessed wrong, their town was destroyed, and they committed suicide in consequence. This was only one case among thousands.

[2] Both Plutarch and Cæsar give entertaining accounts of what took place in Pompey's camp after Cæsar's retreat. "They cried out," says the former, "that Cæsar had fled. Some wanted to pursue him, others to cross over to Italy. Others despatched their friends and servants to

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706 partly out of regard for the opinions of the eastern nations 48
that were looking on, partly to prevent any harm befalling Lucius Scipio, who was still in Macedonia, but most of all because he thought that he ought to fight while his army was in high spirits. Accordingly he advanced and pitched his camp opposite to Cæsar's near Pharsalus, so that they were separated from each other by a distance of thirty stades.

66. Pompey's supplies came from every quarter, for the roads, harbors, and strongholds had been so provided beforehand that food was brought to him at all times from the land, and every wind blew it to him from the sea. Cæsar, on the other hand, had only what he could find with difficulty and seize by hard labor. Yet even so nobody deserted him, but all, by a kind of divine fury, longed to come to close quarters with the enemy. They considered that they, who had been trained in arms for ten years, were much superior to the new levies of Pompey in fighting, but that for digging ditches and building fortifications and for laborious foraging they were weaker by reason of their age. Tired as they were they altogether preferred to perform some deed of valor rather than perish with hunger in inaction. Pompey perceived this and he considered it dangerous to risk everything on a single battle with disciplined and desperate men, and against the amazing luck of Cæsar. It would be easier and safer to reduce them by want as they controlled no fertile territory, and could get nothing by sea, and had no ships for rapid flight. So he decided on

Rome to hire houses in advance near the forum, as though they were about to run for office." (*Life of Pompey*, 66.) Cæsar's narrative says: "They contended with each other openly about rewards and priesthoods and disposed of the consulship for years to come. Some demanded the houses and goods of men in Cæsar's camp, and there was a great controversy over the question whether Lucius Hirrus, who had been sent by Pompey on a mission to the Parthians, should have the right to stand for the next prætorship while absent. . . . Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther had daily disputes over the succession to Cæsar's priesthood and descended to the vilest language, Lentulus claiming it on the score of age, Domitius boasting of his influence in the city and his dignity, while Scipio trusted to his relationship with Pompey. Acutius Rufus even accused Afranius, in Pompey's presence, of betrayal of his army, which he said had been done in Spain." (iii. 82–83.)

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706 the most prudent calculation to protract the war and wear 48
out the enemy by hunger from day to day.[1]

67. Pompey was surrounded by a great number of senators, of equal rank with himself, by very distinguished knights, and by many kings and princes. Some of these, by reason of their inexperience in war, others because they were too much elated by the victory at Dyrrachium, others because they outnumbered the enemy, and others because they were quite tired of the war and preferred a quick decision rather than a sound one — all urged him to fight, pointing out to him that Cæsar was always drawn up for battle and challenging him. Pompey answered along this very line of argument by saying that Cæsar was compelled to do so by his want of supplies, and that they had the more reason to remain quiet because Cæsar was pushed by necessity. Yet, harassed by the whole army, which was unduly puffed up by the victories at Dyrrachium, and by men of rank who accused him of being fond of power and of delaying purposely in order to prolong his authority over so many men of his own rank — and for this reason called him derisively king of kings and Agamemnon,[2] because that general also ruled over kings while war lasted — he allowed himself to be moved from his own purpose and

[1] Literally, "to lead the enemy around from hunger to hunger," ἐς λιμὸν ἐκ λιμοῦ. Mendelssohn prefers to read ἐς λοιμὸν ἐκ λιμοῦ, "from famine to plague," and he refers to Plutarch (*Life of Cæsar*, 40), who says that it was reported in Pompey's camp that a pestilence had broken out in Cæsar's army in consequence of their unaccustomed diet. There is no authority for this change nor does it improve the text in any way. As Cæsar was living off the country he would be obliged to move frequently "from hunger to hunger."

[2] Plutarch says that this nickname was bestowed upon Pompey by Domitius Ahenobarbus, the same who was sent to supersede Cæsar in Gaul and who fell into the latter's hands at Corfinium, and was dismissed with contempt. He was an intense aristocrat, enormously rich, and he hated Cæsar with fury. He was killed in the pursuit after Pharsalus. During the exchange of pleasantries at Pompey's headquarters "Afranius, who had been accused of betraying his army in Spain, when he saw Pompey trying to avoid a battle said he wondered why his accusers did not move forward and fight this huckster of provinces." Favonius, who had suggested before they left Italy that Pompey should stamp armies out of the ground, now said: "Gentlemen, we shall not partake of the figs at Tusculum this year." (*Life of Pompey*, 67.)

Y.R. 706 gave in to them, being deceived now by the god that had misled him on other occasions during the whole of this war. He had now become, contrary to his nature, sluggish and dilatory in all things,[1] and he prepared for battle against his will, to his own hurt and that of the men who had persuaded him to it. B.C. 48

68. That same night three of Cæsar's legions started out to forage; for Cæsar himself approved Pompey's dilatory proceedings and had no idea that he would change, and accordingly sent them out to procure food. When he perceived that the enemy was preparing to fight he was delighted at the pressure which he conjectured had been put upon Pompey by his army, and he recalled all of his forces at once and made preparations on his own side. He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Æneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Cæsar's camp to Pompey's, where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said that it signified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Cæsar interpreted it as meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the fame and power of Pompey. When Pompey was sacrificing the same night some of the victims escaped and could not be caught, and a swarm of bees settled on the altar, the type of weakness.[2] Shortly before daylight a panic occurred in his army. He himself went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep.

[1] The text, or at all events the punctuation, is here doubtful. I have followed that of Schweighäuser but his Latin version does not accord with it: Tandem a proposito se moveri passus, deo jam exitium ejus properante, concessit illorum voluntati. Quemadmodum et alias per totum illud bellum contra naturam suam, tardus fuerat et veluti torpidus, sic nunc, etc., *i.e.*: "Finally allowing himself to be moved from his purpose he yielded to their wish, a god now hurrying him to his doom. As in other matters he had been, contrary to his nature, sluggish and as it were stupefied through this whole war, so now," etc.

[2] These prodigies, with some slight variations, are related by Plutarch, by Lucan, and by Florus. "Never," says Florus, "were there more manifest signs of impending ruin."

Y.R. 706 69. When his friends aroused him he said that he had just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory. His friends and his whole army when they heard of this were delighted, being in ignorance of Cæsar's vow, and they went about their work in a reckless and contemptuous way as though it were already accomplished. Many of them adorned their tents with laurel branches, the insignia of victory, and their slaves prepared magnificent banquets for them. Some of them began already to contend with each other for Cæsar's office of Pontifex Maximus. Pompey, being experienced in military affairs, turned away from these squabbles with concealed indignation. He remained altogether silent in hesitancy and dread, as though he were no longer commander but under command, and as though he were doing everything under compulsion and against his judgment; such dejection had come over this man of great deeds (who, until this day, had been most fortunate in every undertaking), either because he had not carried his point when he had decided what was the best course but was about to cast the die involving the safety of so many men and also involving his own reputation, until now invincible; or because some presentiment of approaching evil troubled him, presaging his complete downfall that very day from a position of such vast power. After merely saying to his friends that whichever should conquer, that day would be the beginning of great evils to the Romans for all future time, he began to make arrangements for the battle. In this remark some people thought his real intentions escaped him, involuntarily expressed in a moment of fright, and they inferred that if Pompey had been victorious he would not have laid down the supreme power. B.C. 48

70. Cæsar's army (for since many writers differ I shall follow the most credible Roman authorities, who give the most careful enumeration of the Italian soldiers, in whom they place most confidence, but do not make much account of the allied forces or record them exactly, regarding them as foreigners and as contributing to them little real assistance) consisted of about 22,000 men and of these about 1000 were cavalry. Pompey had more than double that number, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. Some of the

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706 most trustworthy writers say that 70,000 Italian soldiers were engaged in this battle. Others give the smaller number, 60,000. Still others, grossly exaggerating, say 400,000.[1] Of the whole number some say Pompey's forces were to those of Cæsar as one-and-a-half to one, others say that he had two parts out of three. So much doubt is there as to the exact truth. However that may be, each of them placed his chief reliance on his Italian troops. In the way of allied forces Cæsar had cavalry from both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, besides some light-armed Greeks, consisting of Dolopians, Acarnanians, and Ætolians. Such were Cæsar's allies. Pompey had a great number from all the eastern nations, part horse, part foot. From Greece he had Lacedemonians marshalled by their own kings, and others from Peloponnesus and Bœotians with them. The Athenians marched to his aid also, although proclamation had been made on both sides that no harm should be done to them by the soldiers, since they were the priests of the Thesmophoræ.[2] Nevertheless, they wished to share in the glory of the war because this was a contest for the Roman leadership.[3] 48

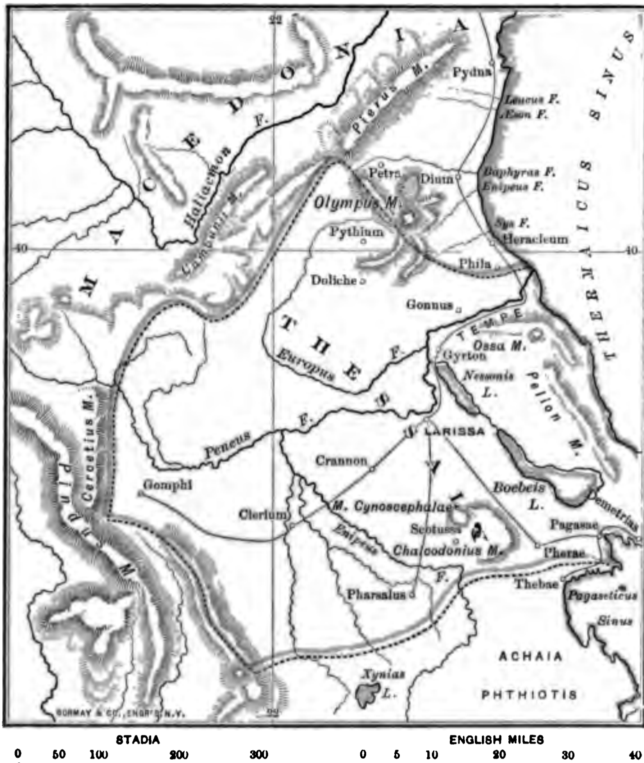
71. Besides the Greeks almost all the nations that one meets in making the circuit of the eastern sea sent aid to Pompey: Thracians, Hellespontines, Bithynians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Paphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and their neighbors the Arabs, Cyprians, Rhodians, Cretan slingers, and other islanders. Kings and princes were there leading their own troops: Deïotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia in the East, and Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. Taxiles com-

[1] One of the grossly exaggerating writers is Florus, who says: "Never did fortune behold so large a force of the Roman people or so much of their dignity collected in one place. More than 300,000 men were assembled on one side and the other, in addition to the auxiliaries of kings and nations."

[2] The Thesmophoræ (law-bringers) were Ceres and Proserpine. They were worshipped together as the goddesses of tillage and civilized life. The Thesmophoria was an annual religious festival at Athens.

[3] Schweighäuser says that the meaning of this passage is not quite clear to him. Combes-Dounous renders it intelligibly: "They came to take part in this war merely to have the glory of fighting in a contest where the empire of the Roman people was at stake."

THESSALY & SOUTHERN MACEDONIA



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706 manded the Armenians from the hither side of the Euphra- 48
tes. Those from the other side were led by Megabates, the lieutenant of King Artabazes. Some other small princes took part with Pompey in the work. It was said that sixty ships from Egypt were contributed to him by the sovereigns of that country, Cleopatra and her brother, who was still a boy. But these did not take part in the battle, nor did any other naval force. They remained idle at Corcyra. Pompey seems to have acted very foolishly in this respect in disregarding the fleet, in which he excelled so greatly that he could have deprived the enemy of all the supplies brought to them from abroad, and in risking a battle on land with men who boasted that they were inured to every kind of toil and who were ferocious fighters. Although he had been on his guard against them at Dyrrachium, a certain spell seems to have come over him at a time when it would inure most to Cæsar's advantage. Under this spell also Pompey's army was most nonsensically puffed up, and rendered insubordinate to its own commander, and hurried into action without previous experience in war. But this was the ordering of divine Providence to bring in the imperial power which now embraces everything.

Chapter XI

Speeches of the Commanders — Preparations for Battle — Battle of Pharsalus — Total defeat of the Pompeians — Flight of Pompey — Losses on both sides

72. Then each of the commanders assembled his soldiers and made an appeal to them. Pompey spoke as follows: "You, my fellow soldiers, are the leaders in this task rather than the led, for while I was still desirous of wearing Cæsar out by hunger you urged on this engagement. Since, therefore, you are the arbiters of the battle, conduct yourselves like those who are greatly superior in numbers. Despise the enemy as victors do the vanquished, as young men do the old, as fresh troops do those who are wearied with many toils. Fight like those who have the power and the means, and the consciousness of a good cause. We are contending

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706 for liberty and country. On our side are the laws and 48 honorable fame, and this great number of senators and knights, against one man who has seized the government by robbery.[1] Go forward then, as you have determined to do, with good hope, keeping in vision the flight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of their standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there." Such was Pompey's speech.

73. Cæsar addressed his men as follows: "My friends, we have already overcome our most formidable enemies, and are now about to encounter not hunger and want, but men. This day will decide everything. Remember what you promised me at Dyrrachium. Remember how you swore to each other in my presence that you would never leave the field except as conquerors. These men, fellow-soldiers, are the same that we met at the Pillars of Hercules, the same that we drove out of Italy. They are the same who sought to disband us without honors, without a triumph, without rewards, after the toils and struggles of ten years, after we had finished those great wars, after innumerable victories, and after we had added 400 nations in Spain, Gaul, and Britain to our country's sway. I have not been able to prevail upon them by offering fair terms, nor to win them by benefits. You know that I dismissed them unharmed, hoping that we should obtain justice from them. Recall all these facts to your minds to-day, and if you have had any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith, and the generosity of my gifts to you.

74. "Nor is it difficult for hardy and veteran soldiers to overcome new recruits who are without experience in war, and who, moreover, like boys, spurn the rules of discipline and of obedience to their commander. I learn that he was afraid and unwilling to come to an engagement. His star has already passed its zenith; he has become slow and hesitating in all his acts, and no longer commands, but obeys the orders of others. I say these things of his Italian forces only. As for his allies, do not think about

[1] Πρὸς ἄνδρα ἕνα λῃστεύοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. This might be translated in the words of Hamlet: "The cutpurse of the empire and the rule."

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706 them, pay no attention to them, do not fight with them at all. They are Syrian, Phrygian, and Lydian slaves, always ready for flight or servitude. I know very well, and you will presently see, that Pompey himself will not assign them any place in his line of battle. Give your attention to the Italians only, even though these allies come running around you like dogs trying to frighten you. When you have put the enemy to flight let us spare the Italians as being our own kindred, but slaughter the allies in order to strike terror into the others. Before all else, in order that I may know that you are mindful of your promise to choose victory or death, throw down the walls of your camp as you go out to battle and fill up the ditch, so that we may have no place of refuge if we do not conquer, and so that the enemy may see that we have no camp and know that we are compelled to occupy theirs."[1] 48

75. Nevertheless, after he had thus spoken Cæsar detailed 2000 of his oldest men to guard the tents. The rest, as they passed out, demolished their fortification in the profoundest silence and filled up the ditch with the debris. When Pompey saw this, although some of his friends thought that it was a preparation for flight, he knew it was an exhibition of daring and groaned in spirit, that although they had with them famine, the most appropriate cure for such wild beasts, he must now meet these creatures in a hand-to-hand contest. But there was no drawing back

[1] Cæsar's speech, as given in his own Commentaries, bears no resemblance to this. "He exhorted the army to battle," he says, "according to the military custom, and spoke of the kindness he had shown them at all times, and especially reminded them, as the soldiers themselves could bear witness, with what earnestness he had sought for peace, what efforts he had made in his conference with Vatinius, what he had endeavored to do in the negotiation with Scipio through Aulus Claudius, and how he had labored with Libo at Oricum for the privilege of sending legates. He said that he never willingly shed the blood of his soldiers, and that it was not his wish that the republic should lose one of its armies. Having spoken thus he gave the signal by trumpet to the soldiers, who were eagerly awaiting it and burning with zeal for the battle." (iii. 90.) Suetonius, Florus, and Lucan mention Cæsar's appeal to his soldiers to spare their fellow-citizens in the pursuit, but Florus says it was intended only for effect. Lucan refers to Cæsar's order to demolish the fortifications of his camp before the battle. (*Pharsalia*, vii. 326.)

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706 now, his affairs being on the razor's edge.[1] Wherefore, 48
leaving 4000 of his Italian troops to guard his camp, Pompey drew up the remainder between the city of Pharsalus and the river Enipeus opposite the place where Cæsar was marshalling his forces. Each of them ranged his Italians in front, divided into three lines with a moderate space between them, and placed his cavalry on the wings of each division. Archers and slingers were mingled among all. Thus were the Italian troops disposed, on which each commander placed his chief reliance. The allied forces were marshalled by themselves rather for show than for use. There was great clamor and confusion of tongues among Pompey's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behavior. The rest, as Cæsar had anticipated, he ordered to lie in wait by tribes outside of the line of battle, and when the engagement should become close to surround the enemy, to pursue, to do what damage they could, and to plunder Cæsar's camp, which was without defences.

76. The centre of Pompey's formation was commanded by his father-in-law, Scipio, the left wing by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and the right by Lentulus. Afranius and Pompey guarded the camp.[2] On Cæsar's side the commanders were P. Sulla, Antony, and Cn. Domitius. Cæsar took a convenient place in the tenth legion, as was his custom. When the enemy saw this they transferred, to face that legion, the best of their horse, in order to surround it if they could, by their superiority of numbers. When Cæsar perceived this movement he placed 3000 of his bravest foot-soldiers in ambush and ordered them, when

[1] This is a Greek proverb found in Homer, Herodotus, and several other authors, cited by Combes-Dounous, and also in Liddell and Scott's lexicon under ξυρόν.

[2] This is a strange blunder, and is inconsistent with the author's own account of Pompey's subsequent movements. A few lines below he says that after the line of battle was formed each commander moved about among the ranks encouraging his men, and in Sec. 81 he says that when Pompey saw the flight of his men he slowly retired to his camp. Cæsar says that Pompey commanded the left wing of his army in person. Plutarch says he commanded the right wing. Of course Cæsar's testimony is to be preferred.

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706 they should see the enemy trying to flank him, to rise, dart 48
forward, and thrust their spears directly in the faces of the men because, as they were fresh and inexperienced and still in the bloom of youth, they could not endure injury to their faces.[1] Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful, exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Cæsar's side was "Venus the Victorious," and on Pompey's "Hercules the Invincible."

77. When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never before had such large Roman armies confronted the same danger together. They had pity for the valor of these men (the elite of both parties), especially because they saw Romans embattled against Romans. As the danger came nearer, the ambition that had inflamed and blinded them was extinguished, and gave place to fear. Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and exposed the cause of the war, showing how two men contending with each other for supremacy had put themselves in a position where the one who should be vanquished could no longer hold even the humblest place, and how so great a number of the nobility were incurring the same risk on their account. The leaders reflected also that they, who had lately been friends and relatives by marriage, and had coöperated with each other in many ways to gain rank and power, had now drawn the sword for mutual slaughter and were leading to the same impiety those serving under them, men of the same city, of the same tribe, blood relations, and in some cases brothers against brothers.

[1] Cæsar's account of this manœuvre is as follows: "Fearing lest his right wing should be surrounded by the greater number of the enemy's horse he rapidly withdrew from the third line one cohort from each legion, and from these formed a fourth line and ranged them in opposition to the enemy's cavalry and explained what he wished them to do and admonished them that the success of this day depended on their valor." (iii. 89.) He says nothing about aiming at the faces of the enemy. It is mentioned by Plutarch, by Lucan, and by Florus, but is probably a fable.

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706 Even these circumstances were not wanting in this battle; 48
because many unexpected things must happen when thousands of the same nation come together in the clash of arms. Reflecting on these things each of them was seized with unavailing repentance, and since this day was to decide for each whether he should be the highest or the lowest of the human race, they hesitated to begin the fight. It is said that both of them shed tears.[1]

78. While they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he gave the signal first and Cæsar reëchoed it. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. The latter advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stolidity and absolute silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements. And now, as they came nearer together, there was first a discharge of arrows and stones. Then as the cavalry were a little in advance of the infantry they charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to flank the tenth legion. Cæsar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush and these, starting up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry, and with spears elevated aimed at the faces of the riders. The latter could not endure the enemy's savagery, nor the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder. Thereupon Cæsar's men,[2] who had just now been

[1] This is a chapter of moralizing quite unusual in the writings of Appian. The view which he takes of this war, that it was merely a contest between two ambitious chieftains, instead of being one incident in a long struggle between a corrupt oligarchy and a debased democracy, was commonly held by men of letters until comparatively recent times.

[2] The text says "Cæsar's horse," but Schweighäuser considers this a manifest error since Appian, in Sec. 79, says that it was the tenth legion that struck Pompey's left flank. Cæsar himself says that the six cohorts in reserve executed this decisive movement. At all events it could not have been Cæsar's horse.

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706 afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's 48
infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports.

79. When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to bring their spears to a rest and ward off the onset of the enemy. Some persons praise this order of Pompey as the best in a case where one is attacked in flank, but Cæsar criticises it in his letters.[1] He says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Cæsar himself, surrounded Pompey's left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory. In the rest of the field killing and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were falling honorably in their tracks. The allies, who were looking at the battle as at a game, were astonished at the discipline of the combatants. So dumfounded were they that they did not dare attack Cæsar's tents, although they were guarded only by a few old men. Nor did they accomplish anything else, but stood in a kind of stupor.

80. As Pompey's left wing began to give way his men even still retired step by step and in perfect order, but the allies who had not been in the fight, fled with headlong speed, shouting, "we are vanquished," dashed upon their own tents and fortifications as though they had been the enemy's, and pulled down and plundered whatever they

[1] There is some confusion here. Cæsar says (iii. 93) that at the beginning of the battle (not after the repulse of his cavalry) Pompey ordered his soldiers not to move from their places but to await the attack and not allow their line to be broken, thinking that the space between the two armies was so great that Cæsar's men if they charged across it would come up blown. "This," he continues, "seems to me to have been an error on Pompey's part, because there is a certain ardor and eagerness of spirit inborn in mankind, which is excited in the heat of battle, and which commanders ought to encourage, not repress."

Y.R. 706 could carry away in their flight. Now the rest of Pompey's legions, perceiving the disaster to the left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisting as well as they could; but when the enemy, flushed with victory, pressed upon them they turned in flight. Then, in order that they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, Cæsar, with the greatest prudence, sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near to the retreating enemy and told them to stand still without fear. As this proclamation was passed from man to man they halted, and the phrase "stand without fear" began to be passed as a sort of watchword among Pompey's soldiers; for, being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Cæsar's men and spoke the same language. Accordingly, the latter passed by them and fell upon the auxiliaries, who were not able to resist, and made a very great slaughter among them.[1] B.C. 48

81. When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he became dazed and retired slowly to his camp, and when he reached his tent he sat down speechless,[2] resembling Ajax, the son of Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived of his senses by a god. Very few of the rest returned to the camp, for Cæsar's proclamation caused them to remain unharmed, and as their enemies had passed beyond them they dispersed in groups. As the day was declining Cæsar ran hither and thither among his troops and besought them to continue their exertions till they should capture Pompey's

[1] Cæsar says that the Pompeians fled to their fortified camp, and that, although it was now midday and the heat was excessive, he exhorted his soldiers to make use of their good fortune and storm the enemy's entrenchments, and that they obeyed cheerfully. After a short engagement here the Pompeians again fled and took refuge in the high mountains adjacent. (iii. 95.)

[2] There is a striking similarity here both in language and narrative, between Appian and Plutarch. The former says: *Πομπήϊος ἀπῄει βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδος.* The latter (*Life of Pompey*, 72) says: *ἀπῄει βάδην εἰς τὸν χάρακα . . . εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθὼν ἄφθογγος καθῆστο.*

Here is fresh confirmation of the belief that both Appian and Plutarch



JULIUS CÆSAR AS IMPERATOR

In the Palace of the Conservators, Rome

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706 camp, telling them that if they allowed the enemy to rally 48
they would be the victors for only a single day, whereas if they should take the enemy's camp they would finish the war with this one blow. He stretched out his hands to them and took the lead in person. Although they were weary in body, the words and example of their commander lightened their spirits. Their success so far, and the hope of capturing the enemy's camp and the contents thereof, excited them; for in the midst of hope and prosperity men feel fatigue least. So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned this he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, "What! in our very camp?" Having spoken thus he changed his clothing, mounted a horse, and fled with four friends, and did not draw rein until he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Cæsar established himself in Pompey's camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy's expense.[1]

82. The losses of Italians on each side — for there was no report of the losses of auxiliaries, either because of their multitude or because they were despised — were as follows: in Cæsar's army thirty centurions and 200 legionaries, or, as some authorities have it, 1200; on Pompey's side ten senators, among whom was Lucius Do-

drew from a Greek, not from a Latin, source, for if they had translated from Latin it is most improbable that they would have used the same Greek words, in the same, or very nearly the same, order. Moreover, both of them make reference here to the Iliad xi. 543, where Ajax Telamon is smitten with panic by Zeus in the midst of battle. Plutarch quotes the passage itself.

[1] Plutarch's account of Pompey's flight is in nearly the same words, viz: "He sat in silence until some of those who were pursuing the fugitives rushed in with them, when he uttered the single sentence: 'What! in our very camp?' He spoke not another word, but put on clothing suited to his present fortune and stole away." (*Life of Pompey*, 72.) Cæsar says: "When our men forced their way into his intrenchment Pompey threw off his general's uniform, mounted a horse, went out by the rear gate of his camp and urged his horse with all speed to Larissa. Nor did he stop there, but with the same speed, having collected a few of his scattered soldiers, still travelling by night, with a company of thirty horsemen, he pushed on to the sea where he embarked on a supply ship," etc. (iii. 96.)

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706 mitius, the same who had been sent to succeed Cæsar himself in Gaul, and about forty distinguished knights. Some exaggerating writers put the loss in the remainder of his forces at 25,000, but Asinius Pollio, who was one of Cæsar's officers in this battle, records the number of dead Pompeians found as 6000.[1] Such was the result of the famous battle of Pharsalus. Cæsar himself carries off the palm for first and second place by common consent, and with him the tenth legion. The third place is taken by the centurion Crastinus, whom Cæsar asked at the beginning of the battle what result he anticipated, and who responded proudly, "We shall conquer, O Cæsar, and you will thank me either living or dead." The whole army testifies that he darted through the ranks like one possessed and did many brilliant deeds. When sought for he was found among the dead, and Cæsar bestowed military honors on his body and buried it, and erected a special tomb for him near the common burial-place of the others.[2] 48

[1] Cæsar puts his own loss at thirty centurions and 200 private soldiers, and Pompey's at 15,000 killed and 24,000 prisoners. We must infer that Appian was not acquainted with Cæsar's Commentaries, for if he had been he would most probably have quoted him here instead of referring in a loose way to "exaggerating writers."

[2] The affair of Crastinus is mentioned by Cæsar, by Florus, and by Plutarch in his life of Pompey and again in his life of Cæsar. The reference here made to Asinius Pollio has led to much discussion in the learned world, touching the sources from which Appian and Plutarch drew. The words used by Crastinus are almost identical in the three passages (one of Appian and two of Plutarch), and this leads Wynne, Hulleman, and Hermann Peter to believe that both authors borrowed from Pollio's history. Vollgraff on the other hand contends that as Pollio wrote in Latin it would have been little less than miraculous if both of them had used the same Greek words in translating it. He considers it remarkable also that the only reference made to Pollio's writings by either of them should have been here, and that both of them mentioned incidentally the fact that Pollio himself took part in the engagement. All of these coincidences may be explained if we suppose that both Plutarch and Appian took the facts from a common Greek source; that is, from some author who took them from Pollio. (See Vollgraff's *Greek Writers of Roman History*, Leyden, 1880.)

Chapter XII

Pompey sails for Egypt — Is assassinated there — Retreat of the Pompeians to Africa

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706 83. From Larissa Pompey continued his flight to the sea 48
where he embarked in a small boat, and meeting a ship by chance he sailed to Mitylene. There he joined his wife, Cornelia, and they embarked with four triremes which had come to him from Rhodes and Tyre. He decided not to sail for Corcyra and Africa, where he had other large military and naval forces as yet untouched, but intended to push on eastward to the king of the Parthians, expecting to receive every assistance from him. He concealed his intention until he arrived at Cilicia, where he revealed it hesitatingly to his friends; but they advised him to beware of the Parthian, against whom Crassus had lately led an expedition, and who was puffed up by his victory over the latter, and especially not to put in the power of these barbarians the beautiful Cornelia, who had formerly been the wife of Crassus.[1] Then he made a second proposal respecting Egypt and Juba.[2] The latter they despised as not sufficiently distinguished, but they all agreed about going to Egypt, which was near and was a great kingdom, still prosperous and abounding in ships, provisions, and money. Its sovereigns, although children, were allied to Pompey by their father's friendship. For these reasons he sailed to Egypt.

84. Cleopatra, who had previously reigned with her brother, had been lately expelled from Egypt and was collecting an army in Syria. Ptolemy, her brother, was at Mount Casius in Egypt,[3] lying in wait for her invasion, and, as Providence would have it, the wind carried Pompey thither. Seeing a large army on the shore he stopped his ship, judging that the king was there, which was the fact.

[1] The younger Crassus, who lost his life in the war against the Parthians.

[2] King of Numidia. See Sec. 44 *supra*.

[3] The modern Mount El Kas. There was another Mount Casius in Syria.

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706 So he sent messengers to tell of his arrival and to speak of 48
his father's friendship. The king was then about thirteen years of age and was under the tutelage of Achillas, who commanded his army, and the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his treasury. These took counsel together concerning Pompey. There was present also Theodotus, a rhetorician of Samos, the boy's tutor, who offered the infamous advice that they should lay a trap for Pompey and kill him in order to curry favor with Cæsar.[1] His opinion prevailed. So they sent a miserable skiff to bring him, pretending that the sea was shallow and not adapted to large ships. Some of the king's attendants came in the skiff, among them a Roman, named Sempronius,[2] who was then serving in the king's army and had formerly served under Pompey himself. He gave his hand to Pompey in the king's name and directed him to take passage in the boat to the young man as to a friend. At the same time the whole army was marshalled along the shore as if to do honor to Pompey, and the king was plainly seen in the midst of them wearing a purple robe.

85. Pompey's suspicions were aroused by all that he observed — the marshalling of the army, the meanness of the skiff, and the fact that the king himself did not come to meet him nor send any of his high dignitaries. Nevertheless, he entered the skiff, repeating to himself these lines of Sophocles, "Whoever resorts to a tyrant becomes his slave, even if he were free when he went." While rowing to the shore all were silent, and this made him still more suspicious. Finally, either recognizing Sempronius as a Roman soldier who had served under him or guessing that

[1] Theodotus argued (says Plutarch) "that if they should give shelter to the fugitive they would have Cæsar for an enemy and Pompey for a master; if they should send him away he would be offended by their want of hospitality, and Cæsar would be angry with them for letting him escape. The best way would be to send for him and kill him. In that way they would gratify the one and need not fear the other. He added with a smile that dead men do not bite." (*Life of Pompey*, 77).

[2] Cæsar, Plutarch, Florus, and Dion Cassius, give this miscreant the name of Septimius. Cæsar says that he was a military tribune and that he had served under Pompey in the war against the pirates. Florus adds that he was a deserter from Pompey's army.

Y.R. 706 he was such because he alone remained standing (for, according to military discipline, a soldier does not sit in the presence of his commander), he turned to him and said, "Do I not know you, comrade?" The other nodded and, as Pompey turned away, he immediately gave him the first stab and the others followed his example. Pompey's wife and friends who saw this at a distance cried out and, lifting their hands to heaven, invoked the gods, the avengers of violated faith. Then they sailed away in all haste as from an enemy's country. B.C. 48

86. The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Cæsar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody else wrote this inscription: —

"What a pitiful tomb is here for one who had temples in abundance."[1]

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his partisans at a later period near Mount Casius had been degraded and removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey's images in their proper places. Such was the end

[1] Plutarch gives a pathetic account of Pompey's funeral, which was performed by his freedman Philippus and one old Roman who had served as a soldier under him, and who was now living in exile and poverty. "Such," says another historian, "was the departure from life of a most excellent and illustrious man, after three consulships and as many triumphs, who had ruled the whole world and had reached a position above which it was not possible to rise, in the 58th year of his age and on the day before his birthday. So greatly had fortune been at strife with herself in his case that he who had been in want of earth to conquer was now in want of enough for a grave." (*Velleius*, ii. 53.) Dio Cassius (lxix. 11), describing the Emperor Hadrian's tour in the East A.D. 122, says that "while he was passing from Judea to Egypt he offered a funeral sacrifice for Pompey, on which occasion the following verse escaped him: 'What a pitiful tomb is here for one who had temples in abundance.' He also rebuilt the tomb that had fallen into ruin." This is not inconsistent with Appian's narrative.

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706 of Pompey, who had carried on the greatest wars and had 48
made the greatest additions to the empire of the Romans, and had acquired by that means the title of Great. He had never been defeated before,[1] but had remained unvanquished and most fortunate from his youth till now. From his twenty-third to his fifty-eighth year he had not ceased to exercise royal power, but on account of his jealousy of Cæsar he had seemed to rule in the interest of the people.

87. Lucius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and the other notables who had escaped from the battle of Pharsalus, more prudent than Pompey, proceeded to Corcyra and joined Cato, who had been left there with another army and 300 triremes. The leaders apportioned the fleet among themselves, and Cassius sailed to Pharnaces in Pontus to induce him to take up arms against Cæsar. Scipio and Cato embarked for Africa, relying on Varus and his army and his ally, Juba, king of Numidia. The elder son of Pompey, together with Labienus and Scapula, each with his own part of the army, hastened to Spain and, having detached it from Cæsar, collected a new army of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and slaves, and made formidable preparations for war. So great were the forces still remaining which Pompey had prepared, and which Pompey himself overlooked and ran away from in his insanity. Cato had been chosen commander of the forces in Africa, but he declined the appointment since there were consulars present who outranked him, he having held only the prætorship in Rome. So Lucius Scipio was made the commander and he collected and drilled a large army there. Thus two armies of considerable magnitude were brought together against Cæsar, one in Africa and the other in Spain.

[1] This is an error. Pompey was defeated by Sertorius in Spain, and the fact is mentioned in so many words by Appian himself in the preceding book Sec. 110: ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνίκα Πομπήϊον.

Chapter XIII

Cæsar pursues Pompey — Passes through Asia Minor — The Alexandrian War — The War against Pharnaces — Another Mutiny in Cæsar's Army — Cæsar disbands them at their Request — Takes them back at their Entreaty

Y.R. 706 88. Cæsar remained two days at Pharsalus after the victory, offering sacrifice and giving his army a respite from fighting. Then he set free his Thessalian allies and granted pardon to the suppliant Athenians, and said to them, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?" On the third day he marched eastward, having learned that Pompey had fled thither, and for want of triremes he essayed to cross the Hellespont in skiffs. Here Cassius came upon him in mid-stream, with a part of his fleet, as he was hastening to Pharnaces. Although he might have mastered these small boats with his numerous triremes he was panic-stricken by Cæsar's astounding success, which was then heralded with consternation everywhere, and he thought that Cæsar had sailed purposely against him. So he extended his hands in entreaty from his trireme toward the skiff, begged pardon, and surrendered his fleet. So great was the power of Cæsar's prestige. I can see no other reason myself, nor can I think of any other instance where fortune was more propitious in a trying emergency than when Cassius, a most valiant man, with seventy triremes, fell in with Cæsar when he was unprepared, but did not venture to come to blows with him. And yet he who thus disgracefully surrendered to Cæsar, through fear alone, when the latter was crossing the straits, afterward murdered him in Rome when he was at the height of his power; by which fact it is evident that the panic which then seized Cassius was due to the fortune by which Cæsar was uplifted.[1] B.C. 48

[1] This is a dubious tale. Cæsar tells us (iii. 101) that Cassius was in Sicily with a fleet when the news of Pharsalus arrived; that when the first news of the battle came the Pompeians considered it a fiction invented by Cæsar's friends, but that when they were convinced that it was true, Cassius departed with his fleet. Then Cæsar describes his own movements, saying that he considered it necessary to drop everything

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706 89. Being thus unexpectedly saved, Cæsar passed the 48
Hellespont and granted pardon to the Ionians, the Æolians, and the other peoples who inhabit the great peninsula called by the common name of Lower Asia, and who sent ambassadors to him to ask it. Learning that Pompey had gone to Egypt he sailed for Rhodes. He did not wait there for his army, which was coming forward by detachments, but embarked with those whom he had on board the triremes of Cassius and the Rhodians. Letting nobody know whither he intended to go he set sail toward evening, telling the other pilots to steer by the torch of his own ship by night and by his signal in the daytime. After they had proceeded a long way from the land he ordered his pilot to steer for Alexandria. After a three days' sail he arrived there. He was received by the king's guardians, the king himself being still at Mount Casius. At first, on account of the smallness of his forces, he pretended to take his ease, receiving visitors in a friendly way, traversing the city, admiring its beauty, and listening to the lectures of the philosophers while he stood among the crowd. Thus he gained the good-will and esteem of the Alexandrians as one who had no designs against them.

90. When his soldiers arrived by sea he punished Pothinus and Achillas with death for their crime against Pompey.[1] (Theodotus escaped and was afterward crucified by

else and pursue Pompey, and that he pushed on every day as far as his cavalry could go, having ordered one legion to follow by shorter marches. He must have passed the Hellespont before Cassius sailed from Sicily. Again, Cicero in his second Philippic (11), while defending himself against Antony's charge that he had advised the assassination of Cæsar, says that he is not entitled to share this glory with Brutus and Cassius. Neither of them needed his advice. "Cassius," he adds, "would have done the deed himself in Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, without the help of his illustrious friends, if Cæsar had landed on the shore where he (Cassius) had halted, instead of the opposite one." In other words they passed each other at the mouth of the Cydnus, as Cæsar was proceeding to Egypt. Suetonius (*Jul.* 63) says that it was Lucius Cassius whom Cæsar met in the Hellespont.

[1] Cæsar says that he put Pothinus to death for corresponding with the enemy while he was in Cæsar's custody, during the Alexandrian war. (iii. 112.) Hirtius, who wrote the Alexandrian War, says (i. 4) that Achillas was put to death by Arsinoë, the younger sister of Cleopatra, who attempted to bring about a counter revolution and to secure the

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706 Cassius, who found him wandering in Asia.[1]) The Alexandrians thereupon rose in tumult, and the king's army marched against Cæsar and various battles took place around the palace and on the neighboring shores. In one of these Cæsar escaped by leaping into the sea and swimming a long distance in deep water. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy. He fought the last battle against the king on the banks of the Nile, in 48
707 which he won a decisive victory. He consumed nine 47
months in this strife, at the end of which he established Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt in place of her brother. He ascended the Nile with 400 ships, exploring the country in company with Cleopatra and enjoying himself with her in other ways. The details of these events are related more particularly in my Egyptian history. Cæsar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war.

91. After Cæsar had performed these exploits in Alexandria he hastened by way of Syria against Pharnaces. The latter had already accomplished many of his aims, had seized some of the Roman countries, had fought a battle with Cæsar's lieutenant, Domitius, and won a very brilliant victory over him. Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisus in Pontus, which adhered to the Roman interest, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all their boys eunuchs. On the approach of Cæsar he became alarmed and repented of his deeds, and when Cæsar was within 200 stades he sent ambassadors to him to

throne for herself. Plutarch contradicts himself in this matter. In his *Life of Pompey* (80) he says that Cæsar put both Pothinus and Achillas to death and implies that he did so to punish them for the murder of Pompey. In his *Life of Cæsar* (49) he says distinctly that Pothinus was put to death on account of a palace conspiracy against Cæsar in which both himself and Achillas were concerned, but that Achillas escaped.

[1] Plutarch, at the conclusion of his *Life of Pompey*, says that Theodotus was put to death with torture by Brutus, who found him leading a vagabond life in Asia.

Y.R. 707 treat for peace. They bore a golden crown and foolishly offered him the daughter of Pharnaces in marriage. When Cæsar learned what they were bringing he moved forward with his army, walking in advance and chatting with the ambassadors until he arrived at the camp of Pharnaces, when he merely said, "Why should I not take instant vengeance on this parricide?" Then he sprang upon his horse and at the first shout put Pharnaces to flight and killed a large number of the enemy, although he had with him only about 1000 of his own cavalry who had accompanied him in the advance. Here it is said that he exclaimed, "O fortunate Pompey, who wast considered and named the Great for warring against such men as these in the time of Mithridates, the father of this man." Of this battle he wrote to Rome the words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." B.C. 47

92. After this, Pharnaces was glad to escape to the kingdom which Pompey had assigned to him on the Bosporus. As Cæsar had no time to waste on small matters while such great wars were still unfinished elsewhere, he returned to the province of Asia and while passing through it transacted public business in the cities, which were oppressed by the farmers of the revenue, as I have shown in my Asiatic history.[1] Learning that a sedition had broken out in Rome and that Antony, his master of horse, had occupied the forum with soldiers, he laid aside everything else and hastened to the city. When he arrived there the sedition had been quieted, but another one sprang up against himself in the army because the promises made to them after the battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law. They demanded that they should be dismissed to their homes. Cæsar had made them certain indefinite promises at Pharsalus, and others equally indefinite after the war in Africa should be finished. Now he sent them a promise of 1000 drachmas more to each man. They answered him that they did not want any more promises but all cash down. Sallus-

[1] Our author does not mention any Asiatic history in his preface. Photius in his enumeration of the works of Appian extant in his time speaks of the "tenth book, Grecian and Ionian." Schweighäuser thinks that this is the book here referred to.

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707 tius Crispus,[1] who had been sent to them on this business, had a narrow escape. He would have been killed if he had not fled. When Cæsar learned of this he stationed the legion, with which Antony had been guarding the city, around his own house and the city gates, as he apprehended attempts at plunder. Then, notwithstanding all his friends were alarmed and cautioned him against the fury of the soldiers, he went boldly among them while they were still riotous in the Campus Martius, without sending word beforehand, and showed himself on the platform. 47

93. The soldiers ran together tumultuously without arms, and, as was their custom, saluted their commander who had suddenly appeared among them. When he bade them tell what they wanted they were so surprised that they did not venture to speak openly of the donative in his presence, but they adopted the more moderate course of demanding their discharge from the service, hoping that, since he needed soldiers for the unfinished wars, he would speak about the donative himself. But, contrary to the expectation of all, he replied without hesitation, "I discharge you." Then, to their still greater astonishment, and while the silence was most profound, he added, "And I will give you all that I have promised when I have my triumph with others." At this expression, as unexpected as it was kind to them, shame immediately took possession of all, and reflection, together with jealousy at the thought of their abandoning their commander in the midst of such great wars and of others joining in the triumph instead of themselves, and of their losing the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great, and becoming enemies of Cæsar himself as well as of the opposite party. Moved by these fears they remained still more silent and embarrassed, hoping that Cæsar would yield and change his mind on account of his immediate necessity. But he remained silent also, until his friends urged him to say something more to them and not leave his old comrades of so many campaigns with a short and austere word. Then he began to speak, addressing them first as "citizens," not "fellow-

[1] This was the historian Sallust. He was afterward appointed by Cæsar governor of Numidia. See Sec. 100 *infra*.

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707 soldiers," which implied that they were already discharged 47
from the army and were private individuals.

94. They could endure it no longer, but cried out that they repented of what they had done, and besought him to keep them in his service. But Cæsar turned away and was leaving the platform when they shouted with greater eagerness and urged him to stay and punish them for their misdeeds. He delayed a while longer, not going away and not turning back, but pretending to be undecided. At length he came back and said that he would not punish any of them, but that he was grieved that even the tenth legion, to which he had always given the first place of honor, should join in such a riot. "And this legion alone," he continued, "I will discharge from the service. Nevertheless, when I return from Africa I will give them all that I have promised. And when the wars are ended I will give lands to all, not as Sulla did by taking it from the present holders and colonizing the takers among the losers, and making them everlasting enemies to each other, but I will give the public land, and my own, and will purchase what may be needful." There was clapping of hands and joyful acclaim on all sides, but the tenth legion was plunged in grief because to them alone Cæsar appeared inexorable. They begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. But Cæsar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed straightway for the war in Africa.

CHAPTER XIV

Cæsar sails for Africa — The Forces arrayed against him — Battle of Thapsus — Cato at Utica — He commits Suicide — Juba and Petreius kill each other

95. He crossed from Rhegium to Messana and went to Lilybæum.[1] Here, learning that Cato was guarding the

[1] The modern Marsala, at the western extremity of Sicily. It was the port nearest the African coast. Hirtius says that Cæsar arrived there on the 14th day before the Calends of January and sailed eight days later.

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707 enemy's magazines with a fleet and a part of the land forces 47
at Utica, and that he had with him 300 men who had for a long time constituted their council of war and were called the Senate, and that the commander, L. Scipio, and the flower of the army were at Adrumetum, he sailed against
708 the latter. He arrived at a time when Scipio had gone 46
away to meet Juba, and he drew up his forces for battle near Scipio's very camp in order to come to an engagement with the enemy at a time when their commander was absent. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, attacked him, defeated him badly, and pursued him in a haughty and disdainful manner until Labienus' horse was wounded in the belly and threw him, and his attendants carried him off. Petreius, thinking that he had made a thorough test of the army and that he could conquer whenever he liked, drew off his forces, saying to those around him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory." In one part of the day's work did Cæsar's luck show itself, in that the victorious enemy seems to have abandoned the field at the very moment of success. It is said that in the flight Cæsar dashed up to his whole line[1] and turned it around and seizing one of those who carried the principal standards (the eagles) dragged him to the front. Finally, Petreius retired and Cæsar was glad to do the same. Such was the result of Cæsar's first battle in Africa.

96. Not long afterward it was reported that Scipio himself was advancing with eight legions of foot, 20,000 horse (of which most were Africans), and a large number of light-armed troops, and thirty elephants; together with King Juba, who had some 30,000 foot-soldiers in addition, raised for this war, and 20,000 Numidian cavalry, besides a large number of spearmen and sixty elephants. Cæsar's army began to be alarmed and a tumult broke out among them on account of the disaster they had already experienced and of the reputation of the forces advancing against them, and especially of the numbers and bravery of the Numidian cavalry. War with elephants, to which they were unaccus-

[1] ἐγχρίμπτων ἅπασιν. How could he dash up to all of them at once? Mendelssohn suggests ἀποδρᾶσιν, i.e. he dashed up to the runaways.

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708 tomed, also frightened them.[1] But Bocchus, another Mauritanian prince, seized Cirta, which was the capital of Juba's kingdom. When this news reached Juba he started for home at once with his army, leaving thirty of his elephants only with Scipio. Thereupon Cæsar's men plucked up courage to such a degree that the fifth legion begged to be pitted against the elephants, and it overcame them valiantly. From that day to the present this legion has borne the figure of an elephant on its standards. 46

97. The battle was long, severe, and doubtful in all parts of the field until toward evening, when victory declared itself on the side of Cæsar, who went straight on and captured Scipio's camp and did not desist, even in the night, from reaping the fruits of his victory until he had made a clean sweep.[2] The enemy scattered in small bodies wherever they could. Scipio himself with Afranius, abandoning everything, fled by sea with twelve open ships. And thus was this army also, composed of nearly 80,000 men who had been under long training and were inspired with hope and courage by the previous battle, in the second engagement, completely annihilated. And now Cæsar's fame began to be celebrated as of a man of invincible fortune, and those who were vanquished by him attributed nothing to his merit, but ascribed everything, including their own blunders, to Cæsar's luck. And it seems that the result of this war also was due to the bad generalship of the commanders who, as in Thessaly, neglected their opportunity to

[1] "Whenever," says Suetonius, "his (Cæsar's) troops were dispirited by reports of the great force of the enemy, he rallied their courage not by denying the truth of what was said or minimizing the facts but on the contrary by exaggerating every particular. Accordingly, when his troops were in great alarm at the expected arrival of King Juba, he called them together and said, 'I have to inform you that in a very few days the king will be here with ten legions, 30,000 horse, 100,000 light-armed foot, and 300 elephants. Let none of you therefore presume to make any further inquiry or indulge in conjectures, but take my word for what I tell you, which I have from undoubted intelligence; otherwise I shall put them aboard an old crazy vessel and leave them exposed to the mercy of the winds to be transported to some other country.'" (*Jul.* 66.)

[2] This was the battle of Thapsus. According to Hirtius Cæsar's soldiers broke away from their officers and began the battle without orders. (*Bell. Afr.* 82.)

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708 wear out Cæsar by delay until his supplies were exhausted, 46
in this foreign land, and in like manner failed to reap the fruits of their first victory by pushing it sharply to the end.[1]

98. As these facts became known at Utica some three days later, and as Cæsar was marching right against that place, a general flight began. Cato did not detain anybody. He gave ships to all the nobility who asked for them, but himself adhered firmly to his post. When the inhabitants of Utica promised to intercede for him before doing so for themselves, he answered with a smile that he did not need any intercessors with Cæsar, and that Cæsar knew it very well. Then he placed his seal on all the public property and gave the accounts of each kind to the magistrates of Utica. Toward evening he bathed and dined. He ate in a sitting posture, as had been his custom since Pompey's death.[2] He changed his habits in no respect. He partook of the dinner, neither more nor less than usual. He conversed with the others present concerning those who had sailed away and inquired whether the wind was favorable and whether they would make sufficient distance before Cæsar should arrive the next morning. Nor did he change any of his habits when he retired to rest, except that he embraced his son rather more affectionately than usual. As he did not find his sword in its accustomed place by his couch, he exclaimed that he had been betrayed by his servants to the enemy. "What weapon shall I use if I am attacked in the night?" he said.[3] When they besought

[1] συντριφθεὶς οὕτως ὀξέως διαλυθῆναι. No commentator has been able to explain satisfactorily the first of these four words. Schweighäuser says that πόλεμος must be understood, but he adds that a "crushed war" would be a wonderful thing. It may mean that the war, "crushed out in this way, quickly came to an end."

[2] That is, instead of reclining, as was the fashion of the Romans at dinner. Combes-Dounous seems not to have been aware of this custom. He says that "the makers of the Latin version seem not to have known the meaning of the verb ἐγεύετο. They have made Appian say that Cato sat down to take his repast, as he had been accustomed to do since Pompey's death. Do they mean to say that before Pompey's death Cato took his meals *standing?*" He thinks that Cato suspected his cook. He feared poison. The passage, he thinks should be translated: "Being seated he caused the food to be tasted according to the custom he had adopted since the death of Pompey."

[3] The text is dubious here.

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708 him to do no violence to himself but to go to sleep without 46
his sword, he replied still more plausibly, "Could I not strangle myself with my clothing if I wished to, or knock my brains out against the wall, or throw myself headlong to the ground, or destroy myself by holding my breath?" Much more he said to the same purport until he persuaded them to bring back his sword. When it had been put in its place he called for Plato's treatise on the soul and began to read.

99. When he had read the book through and when he thought that those who were stationed at the doors were asleep, he stabbed himself under the breast. His intestines protruded and the attendants heard a groan and rushed in. Physicians replaced his bowels, which were still uninjured, in his body, and after sewing up the wound put a bandage around it. When Cato came to himself he dissembled again. Although he blamed himself for the insufficiency of the wound, he expressed thanks to those who had saved him and said that he only needed sleep. The attendants then retired, taking the sword with them, and closed the door, thinking that he had become quiet. When Cato thought that they were asleep, he tore off the bandage with his hands without making any noise, opened the suture of the wound, enlarged it with his nails like a wild beast, plunged his fingers into his stomach, and tore out his entrails until he died, being then about fifty years of age. He was considered the most steadfast of all men in upholding any opinion that he had once espoused and in adhering to justice, rectitude, and morality, not as a matter of custom merely, but rather from high-souled considerations. He had married Marcia, the daughter of Philippus, when she was a virgin. He was extremely fond of her and had had children by her. Nevertheless, he gave her to Hortensius, one of his friends, — who desired to have children but was married to a barren wife, — until she bore a child to him also, when Cato took her back to his own house as though he had merely loaned her.[1] Such a man was Cato.

[1] Plutarch gives a longer account of this affair, showing that it was attended by formalities in accord with Roman law. Marcia's father was consulted, but her own consent seems not to have been needed. The criticism made upon it by Cæsar in his *Anti-Cato* was not based

Y.R. 708 The Uticans gave him a magnificent funeral. Cæsar said B.C. 47
that Cato had envied him the opportunity for a deed of honor,[1] but when Cicero pronounced an encomium on him which he styled *the Cato,* Cæsar wrote an answer to it which he called *the Anti-Cato.*

100. Juba and Petreius, in view of the circumstances, perceiving no chance of flight or safety, slew each other with swords at a banquet. Cæsar made Juba's kingdom tributary to the Romans and appointed Sallustius Crispus its governor. He pardoned the Uticans and the son of Cato. He captured the daughter of Pompey together with her two children in Utica and sent them safe to young Pompey. Of the 300 he put to death all that he found.[2] Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, was overtaken by a storm, and met a hostile fleet and bore himself bravely until he was overpowered, when he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea. This was the end of Cæsar's war in Africa.

CHAPTER XV

Cæsar's Four Triumphs — Cæsar marches against Young Pompeius in Spain — Battle of Munda — Flight and Death of Young Pompeius

101. When Cæsar returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had added many great nations to the Roman sway and subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the

upon moral considerations. He pointed to the fact that Hortensius, who was very wealthy, left his estate to Marcia in his will, and that Cato took her back as a rich widow, implying that it was a money-making transaction on his part.

[1] That is, an opportunity to pardon him. According to Plutarch Cæsar said: "O Cato, I envy thee thy death because thou did'st envy me my safety."

[2] The 300 are those mentioned in Sec. 95 who were called the Senate. Suetonius (*Jul.* 75) says that only three of Cæsar's enemies lost their lives, except in battle, viz.: Afranius, Faustus Sylla, and young Lucius Cæsar, and that it was thought that even these were put to death without Cæsar's consent.

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708 Gallic and the Pontic triumphs he introduced a kind of 46
Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile.[1] Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these misfortunes were represented in the processions and the men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, the only one whom he did not venture to exhibit, since the latter was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achillas and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces.

102. It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 talents [of silver] was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Cæsar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and præfect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected a temple to Venus, his ancestress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum

[1] Plutarch says that Cæsar enjoyed three triumphs at this time: "the Egyptian, the Pontic, and the African, not over Scipio but probably over King Juba, whose son, still a boy, was led in the triumph, being most fortunate in his captivity since he was thus changed from a barbarous Numidian to one of the most learned of Greek writers."

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708 for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one-half of the number existing before this war.[1] To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city. 46

709 103. Cæsar, now in his fourth consulship, marched against young Pompeius in Spain. This was all that was left of the civil war, but it was not to be despised, for such of the nobility as had escaped from Africa had assembled here. The army was composed of soldiers from Pharsalus and Africa itself, who had come hither with their leaders, and of Spaniards and Celtiberians, a strong and warlike race. There was a great number of emancipated slaves also in Pompeius' camp. All had been under discipline four years and were ready to fight with desperation. Pompeius was misled by this fact and did not postpone the battle, but engaged Cæsar straightway on his arrival, although the older ones, who had learned by experience at Pharsalus and Africa, advised him to wear Cæsar out by delay and reduce him to want, as he was in a hostile country. Cæsar made the journey from Rome in twenty-seven 45

[1] The corresponding passage in Plutarch (*Life of Cæsar*, 55) says: "After the games the census was taken and instead of the former 320,000 inhabitants the whole number amounted to 150,000." This seems incredible. A note on this passage in Langhorne's Plutarch says that Rualdus has not only proved by other testimony that this is erroneous but has shown how the error came to be made. He says that Plutarch, for want of a thorough knowledge of Latin, was misled by a passage in Suetonius which says that Cæsar "made a new census (*recensum*) not in the usual manner or place (in the Campus Martius), but street by street, by means of the chief men of the tenement-house districts (*insularum*), and reduced the number of those receiving corn from the public stores from 320,000 to 150,000." The *recensus* was taken for the purpose of determining the number of persons entitled to receive public corn. The Epitome of Livy (CXV.) says: "he took a new census (*recensum*) by which it was ascertained that the number of citizens (*civium capita*) was 150,000," meaning probably the number entitled to receive corn.

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709 days, coming with a heavily-laden army by a very long route. Fear fell upon his soldiers as never before, in consequence of the reports received of the numbers, the discipline, and the desperate valor of the enemy. 45

104. For this reason Cæsar himself also was ready to move slowly until Pompeius approached him at a certain place where he was reconnoitering and accused him of cowardice. Cæsar could not endure this reproach. He drew up his forces for battle near Corduba[1] and then, too, gave *Venus* for his watchword. Pompeius, on the other hand, gave *Piety* for his. When battle was joined fear seized upon Cæsar's army and hesitation was joined to fear. Cæsar, lifting his hands toward heaven, implored all the gods that his many glorious deeds be not stained by this single disaster. He ran up and encourged his soldiers. He took his helmet off his head and shamed them to their faces and exhorted them. As they abated nothing of their fear he seized a shield from a soldier and said to the officers around him, "This shall be the end of my life and of your military service." Then he sprang forward in advance of his line of battle toward the enemy so far that he was only ten feet distant from them. Some 200 missiles were aimed at him, some of which he dodged while others were caught on his shield. Then each of the tribunes ran toward him and took position by his side, and the whole army rushed forward and fought the entire day, advancing and retreating by turns until, toward evening, Cæsar with difficulty won the victory. It was reported that he said that he had often fought for victory, but that this time he had fought even for existence.[2]

[1] The modern Cordova. The unknown author of the Commentaries on Cæsar's war in Spain places this engagement on the plain of Munda, (*in campum Mundensem*). Plutarch, Florus, Lucan, and the Epitome of Livy say Munda. It is doubtful, however, whether this was the Munda shown on the maps as the site of the modern Monda. The text of the Commentaries, describing the operations following the battle, implies that it was much nearer to Corduba than the present Monda is to Cordova.

[2] Here we find one of those parallel passages in Plutarch — parallel in language as well as in idea — which suggest that both Plutarch and Appian drew from a common Greek, not Latin, source. Plutarch quotes the saying of Cæsar: *πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης νῦν δὲ*

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709 105. After a great slaughter the Pompeians fled to Corduba, and Cæsar, in order to prevent the fugitives from preparing for another battle, ordered a siege of that place. The soldiers, wearied with toil, piled the bodies and arms of the slain together, fastened them to the earth with spears, and encamped behind this kind of a wall. On the following day the city was taken. Scapula, one of the Pompeian leaders, erected a funeral pile on which he consumed himself. The heads of Varus, Labienus, and other distinguished men were brought to Cæsar.[1] Pompeius himself fled from the scene of his defeat with 150 horsemen toward Carteia, where he had a fleet, and entered the dockyard secretly as a private individual borne in a litter. When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety he feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot was caught by a rope, and a man who attempted to cut the rope with his sword cut the sole of his foot instead. So he sailed to a certain place for medical treatment. Being pursued thither he fled by a rough and thorny road that aggravated his wound, until fagged out he took a seat under a tree. Here his pursuers came upon him and he was cut down while defending himself bravely. His head was brought to Cæsar who gave orders for its burial. Thus this war also, contrary to expectation, was brought to an end in one battle. A younger brother of this Pompeius, also named Pompeius but called by his first name, Sextus, collected those who escaped from this fight; but as yet he kept moving about in concealment and lived by robbery. 45

πρῶτον περὶ ψυχῆς (*Life of Cæsar*, 56), which is the same as the text of Appian, except that the latter has καὶ in place of πρῶτον.

[1] The writer of the Commentaries says that Labienus and Varus were killed in the battle of Munda, and that their funeral obsequies were performed where they fell.

Chapter XVI

Unexampled Honors bestowed on Cæsar — He dismisses his Bodyguard — Rumor of Cæsar's Intention to assume the Title of King — Antony crowns him at the Lupercal — Cæsar plans a Campaign against the Parthians — Conspiracy against Cæsar's Life — Brutus and Cassius the Leaders — Other Conspirators — Brutus prevents the Killing of Antony — Cæsar comes to the Senate — Bad Omens at the Entrance — Cæsar assassinated

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709 106. Having ended the civil wars Cæsar hastened to 45
Rome, honored and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honors were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were superhuman — sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. His likeness was painted in various forms, in some cases crowned with oak as the savior of his country, by which crown the citizens were accustomed formerly to reward those to whom they owed their safety. He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should perform his sacerdotal functions always in triumphal costume; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years the priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately upon their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Cæsar's decrees. In honor of his *gens* the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands.

107. Thus while they feared his power they besought his clemency. There were some who proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, saying that it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the prætorian cohorts that had served as his body-

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709 guard during the wars, and showed himself with the ordi- 45
nary public attendance only.[1] To him in this state and while he was transacting business in front of the rostra, the Senate, preceded by the consuls, each one in his robes of office, brought the decree awarding him the honors aforesaid. He extended his hand to them, but did not rise when they approached nor while they remained there, which afforded his slanderers a pretext for accusing him of wishing to be greeted as a king. He accepted all the honors conferred upon him except the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus, who was then governor of Spain, but was administering it by his friends, master of horse in place of Antony. Cæsar also recalled the exiles, except those who were banished for some very grave offence. He pardoned his enemies and forthwith advanced many of those who had fought against him to the yearly magistracies, or to the command of provinces and armies. Therefore the wearied people especially hoped that he would restore the republic to them as Sulla did after he had grasped the same power. But in this they were disappointed.[2]

710 108. Some person among those who wished to spread 44
the report of his desire to be king placed a crown of laurel on his statue, bound with a white fillet. The tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, sought out this person and put him in prison, pretending to gratify Cæsar in this way, as he had threatened any who should talk about making him king. Cæsar was well satisfied with their action. Some others who met him at the city gates as he was returning from some place greeted him as king, and when the people groaned, he said with happy readiness to those who had thus saluted him, "I am no king, I am Cæsar," as though

[1] Plutarch says that "his friends advised him to have a body-guard and many of them offered their services in this capacity, but he refused, saying that it was better to die once than to be always afraid of death." (*Life of Cæsar*, 57.) Velleius records the same fact. (ii. 57.)

[2] Cæsar had a clear conception of facts when he said, according to Suetonius, "the republic is a mere name without substance or semblance. Sulla did not know his A B C's (*nescisse litteras*) when he laid down the dictatorship." (*Jul.* 77.)

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710 they had mistaken his name. The attendants of Marullus 44
found out which man began the shouting and ordered the officers to bring him to trial before his tribunal. Cæsar was at last vexed and accused the faction of Marullus before the Senate of conspiring to make him odious by artfully accusing him of aiming at royalty. He added that they were deserving of death, but that it would be sufficient if they were deprived of their office and expelled from the Senate. Thus he confirmed the suspicion that he desired the title, and that he was privy to the attempts to confer it upon him, and that his tyranny was already complete; for the cause of their punishment was their zeal against the title of king, and, moreover, the office of tribune was sacred and inviolable according to law and the ancient oath. By not waiting for the expiration of their office he sharpened the public indignation.

109. When Cæsar perceived this he repented, and, reflecting that this was the first severe and arbitrary act that he had done without military authority and in time of peace, it is said that he ordered his friends to protect him, since he had given his enemies the handle they were seeking against him. But when they asked him if he would bring together again his Spanish cohorts as a body-guard, he said, "There is nothing more unlucky than perpetual watching; that is the part of one who is always afraid." Nor were the attempts to claim royal honors for him brought to an end even thus, for, while he was in the forum looking at the games of the Lupercal, seated on his golden chair before the rostra, Antony, his colleague in the consulship, who was running naked and anointed, as was the priests' custom at that festival,[1] sprang upon the rostra and put a diadem on his head. At this sight some few clapped their hands, but the greater number groaned, and Cæsar threw off the diadem. Antony again put it on him and again Cæsar threw it off. While they were thus contending the people remained silent, being in suspense to see how it would end.

[1] At the Lupercalia the priests of Pan (*Luperci*) ran through the city naked, except for a goatskin tied about the loins, bearing a strap cut from the hide of the sacrificial goat, with which they slapped married women who placed themselves in the way. This was supposed to be a cure for barrenness.

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710 When they saw that Cæsar prevailed they shouted for joy, 44 and at the same time applauded him because he did not accept it.[1]

110. And now Cæsar, either renouncing his hope, or tired out, and wishing to avoid the plot and accusation, or giving up the city to certain of his enemies, or to cure his bodily ailment of epilepsy and convulsions, which came upon him suddenly and especially when he was inactive, conceived the idea of a long campaign against the Getæ and the Parthians. The Getæ, a hardy, warlike, and neighboring nation, were to be attacked first. The Parthians were to be punished for their perfidy toward Crassus. He sent across the Adriatic in advance sixteen legions of foot and 10,000 horse. And now another rumor gained currency that the Sibylline books had predicted that the Parthians would never submit to the Romans until the latter should be commanded by a king. For this reason some people ventured to say that Cæsar ought to be called dictator and emperor of the Romans, as he was in fact, or whatever other name they might prefer to that of king, and that he ought to be distinctly named king of the nations that were subject to the Romans. Cæsar declined this also, and was wholly engaged in hastening his departure from the city in which he was exposed to such envy.

111. Four days before his intended departure he was slain by his enemies in the senate-house, either from jealousy of his fortune and power, now grown to enormous proportions, or, as they themselves alleged, from a desire to restore the republic of their fathers; for they well knew that if he should conquer those nations he would be a king without a doubt.[2] But I think that they took, as a pretext

[1] Suetonius, Velleius, Plutarch, and Cicero in his second Philippic mention this affair. Plutarch says that Antony offered the diadem to Cæsar three times. Suetonius says several times. Velleius says that "he put it away, but in such a manner that he did not seem offended." The words that Shakespeare puts in the mouth of Casca in the play of *Julius Cæsar* (Act 1, Sc. 2), were evidently taken from Plutarch and Velleius.

[2] I have followed Schweighäuser's Latin rendering of this passage, although it is not free from objection. The Didot version is: "or, as they alleged, from a desire to restore the republic (for they knew Cæsar well), lest, if he should conquer those nations also, he should

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710 for their own design, this plan for an additional title, which really made no difference to them except in name, for in fact a dictator is exactly the same as a king.[1] Chief among the conspirators were two men, Marcus Brutus, surnamed Cæpio (son of the Brutus who was put to death during the Sullan revolution), who had sided with Cæsar after the disaster of Pharsalus, and Gaius Cassius, the one who had surrendered his triremes to Cæsar in the Hellespont, both having been of Pompey's party. Among the conspirators also was Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Cæsar's dearest friends. All of them had been held in honor and trust by Cæsar at all times. He had employed them in the largest affairs. When he went to the war in Africa he gave them the command of armies, putting Decimus Brutus in charge of Transalpine, and Marcus Brutus of Cisalpine, Gaul. 44

112. Brutus and Cassius, who had been designated as prætors at the same time, had a controversy with each other as to which of them should be the city prætor, this being the place of highest honor, either because they were really ambitious of the distinction or as a pretence so that they might not seem to have a common understanding with each other. Cæsar, who was chosen umpire between them, is reported to have said to his friends that justice seemed to be on the side of Cassius, but that he must nevertheless favor Brutus. He exhibited the same affection and preference for this man in all things. It was even thought that Brutus was his son, as Cæsar was the lover of his mother, Servilia (Cato's sister) at the time of his birth,[2] for which

presently become king of the Romans without a doubt." Geslen considered the passage corrupt and substituted ἔδεισαν (they feared) for ᾔδεσαν (they knew) in the text. Tollius curiously adopted Geslen's Latin version, but adhered to the original text.

[1] This is another troublesome sentence. Schweighäuser says that the older translators dodged the difficulty by ignoring the words σκοπὸν and προσθήκης, for which he gives the Latin equivalent *propositum illius accessionis*. The latter interpretation is followed in the Didot edition, although Schweighäuser himself preferred the participle σκοπῶν (contemplating) instead of the noun σκοπὸν (a plan). The Augsburg codex reads σκοπῶν and this would make Appian say: "I think upon reflection," etc.

[2] Plutarch relates the following anecdote in his *Life of Cato Minor* (24), where he describes the part taken by the latter in the debate on the conspiracy of Catiline: "As we ought not to omit even the smallest

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710 reason, when he won the victory at Pharsalus, it is said 44
that he gave an immediate order to his officers to save Brutus by all means. Whether Brutus was ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether it was because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by people who secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to the tribunal of Brutus himself such writings as these, "Brutus, are you corrupted by bribes?" "Brutus, are you dead?" or "would that you were still alive!" or, "your posterity is unworthy of you," or, "you are not the descendant of that Brutus." These and many like incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his own ancestor.

113. While the talk about the kingship was going on, and just before there was to be a meeting of the Senate, Cassius met Brutus, and, seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senate-house if Cæsar's flatterers propose a decree making him king?" Brutus replied that he would not be there. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as prætors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he replied. Cassius embraced him, saying, "Which of the nobility will you allow to share your thought? Do you think that artisans and shopkeepers have written those clandestine messages on your tribunal, or rather the noblest Romans, those who ask from the other prætors games, horse-races, and combats of wild beasts, but from you liberty, as a boon worthy of your ancestry?" Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately

indications that show the mental image of the man, it is said that while Cæsar was engaged in a severe struggle and controversy with Cato on this subject, and the Senate was hanging on their words, a little tablet was brought in to Cæsar. Cato considered this a suspicious circumstance and slandered him so that some of the senators were moved to ask that the contents be read. Cæsar handed the tablet to Cato, who was standing near. It was an immodest letter from his own sister Servilia to Cæsar, with whom she was in love, and by whom she had been seduced. Cato, after reading it, threw it back to Cæsar, saying: 'Keep it, you debauchee,' and then went on with his speech."

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710 thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those 44
of their own friends, and of Cæsar's also, whom they considered the most courageous of either faction. Of their own friends they inveigled two brothers, Cæsilius and Bucolianus, and besides these Rubrius Ruga, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Servilius Casca, Servius Galba, Sextius Naso, and Pontius Aquila. These were of their own faction. Of Cæsar's friends they secured Decimus Brutus, whom I have already mentioned, also Gaius Casca, Trebonius, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basillus.[1]

114. When they thought that they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They sought a time and place. Time was pressing because Cæsar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and would thereupon have a body-guard of soldiers. They chose the Senate as the place, believing that, even though the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed. It was said that this happened in the case of Romulus when he changed from a king to a tyrant. They thought that this deed, like that one of old, taking place in open Senate, would seem to be performed not by private plotters, but in behalf of the country, and that, being in the public interest, there would be no danger from Cæsar's army. At the same time they thought the honor would be theirs because the public would not be ignorant that they took the lead. For these reasons they unanimously chose the Senate as the place, but they were not agreed as to the mode. Some thought that Antony ought to be killed also because he was consul with Cæsar, and was his most powerful friend, and the one of most repute with the army; but Brutus said that they would win

[1] Mention should be made of two wise men who did not join the conspiracy. Plutarch gives this account of them: "Of his other companions Brutus omitted Statilius the Epicurean, and Favonius an adherent of Cato, because when he sounded them in a roundabout way by conversing with them on philosophical subjects, Favonius answered that a civil war was worse than an illegal monarchy, and Statilius said that it was not the part of a wise man to expose himself to danger and to stir up disorder for the sake of worthless and foolish people." (*Life of Brutus*, 12.)

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710 the glory of tyrannicide from the death of Cæsar alone, 44 because that would be the killing of a king. If they should kill his friends also, the deed would be imputed to private enmity and to the Pompeian faction.

115. The day before the meeting of the Senate Cæsar went to sup with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to the drinking-bout.[1] While they were in their cups the conversation turned on the question, "What is the best kind of death for a man?" Various opinions were given, but Cæsar alone expressed the preference for a sudden death. In this way he foretold his own end, and conversed about what was to happen on the morrow. After the banquet a certain bodily faintness came over him in the night, and his wife, Calpurnia, had a dream, in which she saw him streaming with blood, for which reason she tried to prevent him from going out in the morning. When he offered sacrifice there were many unfavorable signs. He was about to send Antony to dismiss the Senate when Decimus, who was with him, persuaded him, in order not to incur the charge of disregard for the Senate, to go there and dismiss it himself. Accordingly he was borne thither in a litter. Games were going on in Pompey's theatre, and the Senate was about to assemble in one of the adjoining buildings, as was the custom when the games were taking place.[2] Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as prætors with those seeking their services. When they heard of the bad omens at Cæsar's house and that the Senate was to be dismissed, they were greatly disconcerted. While they were in this state of mind a certain person took Casca by the hand and said, "You kept the secret from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me all." Casca was suddenly

[1] *ἐς τὸν πότον.* Three of the codices read *ἐς τὸν πόντον* (to the sea) which is absurd. Mendelssohn considers the words troublesome in either case.

[2] It was customary for the magistrate who called the meeting of the Senate to designate at the same time the place of meeting. Plutarch says that the place where this meeting was held was a building erected by Pompey as an addition to and ornament of his theatre, and that it contained his own statue. This singular fact proves to Plutarch that Cæsar was led to this place by divine interposition.

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710 conscience-stricken and shuddered, but his friend, smiling, 44
continued, "Where shall you get the money to stand for the ædileship?" Then Casca recovered himself. While Brutus and Cassius were conferring and talking together, Popillius Læna, one of the senators, drew them aside and said that he joined them in his prayers[1] for what they had in mind, and he urged them to make haste. They were confounded, but remained silent from terror.

116. While Cæsar was being borne to the Senate one of his intimates, who had learned of the conspiracy, ran to his house to tell what he knew. When he arrived there and found only Calpurnia he merely said that he wanted to speak to Cæsar about urgent business, and then waited for him to come back from the Senate, because he did not know all the particulars of the affair. Meantime Artemidorus, whose hospitality Cæsar had enjoyed at Cnidus, ran to the Senate and found him already murdered. A tablet informing him of the conspiracy was put into Cæsar's hand by another person while he was sacrificing in front of the curia, but he went in immediately and it was found in his hand after his death. Directly after he stepped out of the litter Popillius Læna, who a little before had joined his prayers with the party of Cassius, accosted Cæsar and engaged him aside in earnest conversation. The sight of this proceeding and especially the length of the conversation struck terror into the hearts of the conspirators, and they made signs to each other that they would kill themselves rather than be captured. As the conversation was prolonged they saw that Læna did not seem to be revealing anything to Cæsar, but rather to be urging some petition. They recovered themselves and when they saw him return thanks to Cæsar after the conversation they took new courage. It was the custom of the magistrates, when about to enter the Senate, to take the auspices at the entrance. Here again Cæsar's first victim was without a heart, or, as some say, the beginning of the entrails was wanting. A soothsayer said that this was a sign of death. Cæsar, laughing, said that the same thing had happened to him when he was

[1] Here again there is a close resemblance in words between Plutarch and Appian, but the former uses the direct discourse *συνεύχομαι* and the latter the indirect *συνεύχεσθαι*.

Y.R. 710 beginning his campaign against Pompeius in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in very great danger then and that now the omen was still more entitled to credence.[1] So Cæsar ordered him to sacrifice again. None of the victims were more propitious; but being ashamed to keep the Senate waiting, and being urged by his enemies in the guise of friends, he went in disregarding the omens. For it was fated that Cæsar should meet his doom. B.C. 44

117. The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others, with concealed daggers, stood around Cæsar like friends as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Cæsar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging his petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck, exclaiming, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then first Casca, who was standing over Cæsar's head, drove his dagger at his throat, but missed his aim and wounded him in the breast. Cæsar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled Casca with great violence. While he was in this position another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side, which was exposed by his turning around,[2] Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus between the shoulder-blades. With rage and outcries Cæsar turned now upon one and now upon

[1] ἔτι πιθανώτερον: here we encounter a curiosity in the text. In Sec. 153 *infra* the author says: "As Cæsar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said jestingly that the same thing happened to him in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he was in danger then and that the omen was now *more deadly*, ἐπιθανατώτερον." The close resemblance of the text of the two phrases suggested to Musgrave the query whether Appian had not written the same in both places. Schweighäuser thought that it was altogether probable, but as all the codices agreed he did not venture to change the text. Mendelssohn has changed it in the Teubner edition, while the Didot edition adheres to the original.

[2] ὡς ἐπὶ συστροφῇ τεταμένον. Literally, "which was in a state of tension by reason of his turning and twisting."

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710 another like a wild animal, but after receiving the wound 44 from Brutus he despaired and, veiling himself with his robe, he fell in a decent position at the foot of Pompey's statue. They continued their attack after he had fallen until he had received twenty-three wounds. Several of them while thrusting with their swords wounded each other.[1]

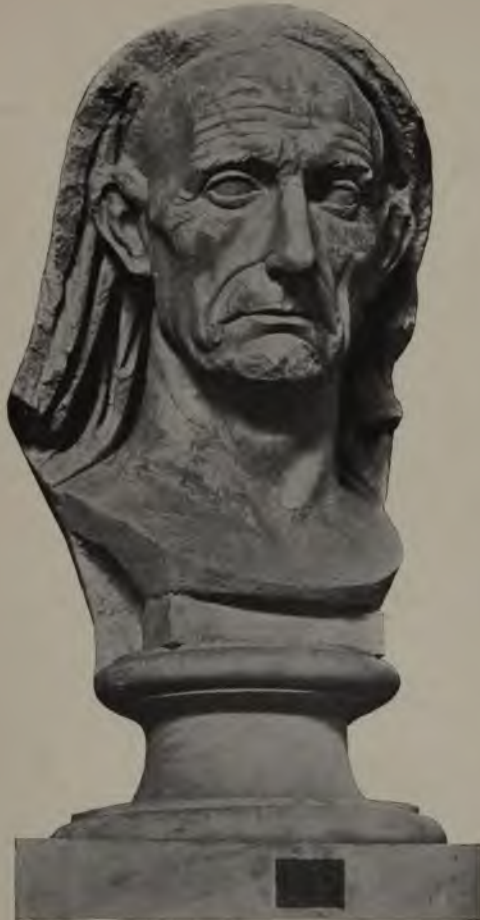
Chapter XVII

Panic in the City — The Murderers take possession of the Capitol — Rottenness of Roman Society — The Conspirators distribute Bribes — Brutus and Cassius come down from the Capitol — Proposals for Compromise to Antony — Antony's Answer

118. When the murderers had perpetrated their crime, in a sacred place, on one whose person was sacred and inviolable,[2] there was an immediate flight from the curia and throughout the whole city. Some senators were wounded in the tumult and others killed. Many other citizens and strangers were murdered also, not designedly, but as such things happen in public commotions, by the mistakes of

[1] The account of the assassination given by Suetonius (*Jul.* 82) is as follows: "The conspirators stood around him as he was seated, pretending to pay their respects, and directly Tillius Cimber, who had assumed the initiative, advanced nearer as if to ask some favor, and when Cæsar made a motion with his head to signify that the matter must be deferred he seized his toga at both shoulders. Cæsar exclaimed 'this is violence,' and then another of Casca's party wounded him in the back a little below the neck. Cæsar seized Casca's arm and pierced it with a stylus, and while trying to rush forward was hindered by another wound. When he saw himself assailed on all sides with drawn daggers he drew his toga around his head and at the same time with his left hand arranged the fold over his lower limbs so that he might fall more decently, with the lower part of his body covered. In this way he was stabbed with twenty-three wounds, having uttered no cry but only a single groan at the first blow, although some say that when Marcus Brutus attacked him he exclaimed *καὶ σὺ τέκνον*, (and you, my son). He lay there dead for some time, all having fled, until three of his slaves placed him on a litter with his arm hanging down, and carried him home. Among so many wounds, according to the physician Antistius, there was only one that was mortal, and that was the second one, which he had received in the breast."

[2] Cæsar's person was sacred and inviolable under Roman law both as pontifex maximus and as dictator.



Julius Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus

In the Vatican Museum, Rome

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710 those into whose hands they fell. Gladiators, who had been 44 armed early in the morning for that day's spectacles, ran out of the theatre into the balcony of the Senate. The theatre itself was emptied in haste and panic-terror, and the markets were plundered. All citizens closed their front doors and put themselves in a posture of defence on their roofs. Antony fortified his house, apprehending that the conspiracy was against him as well as Cæsar. Lepidus, the master of horse, being in the forum at the time, learned what had been done and ran to the island in the river where he had a legion of soldiers, which he transferred to the plain in order to be in greater readiness to execute Antony's orders; for he yielded to Antony as a closer friend of Cæsar and also as consul. While pondering over the matter they were strongly moved to avenge the death of Cæsar, but they feared lest the Senate should espouse the side of the murderers and so they concluded to await events. There had been no military guard around Cæsar, for he did not like guards except the usual attendants of the magistracy. Many civilian officers and a large crowd of citizens and strangers, of slaves and freedmen, had accompanied him from his house to the Senate, but had fled *en masse*, all except three slaves, who placed the body in a litter and, with uneven step (being an uneven number), bore him homeward who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea.

119. The murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields, and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a cap on the end of a spear as a symbol of freedom and exhorted the people to restore the government of their fathers and recall the memory of the elder Brutus and of those who took the oath together against the ancient kings. With them ran some with drawn swords who had not participated in the deed, but wanted to share the glory, among whom were Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus, and Patiscus. These did not share the glory, but they suffered punishment with the guilty. As the people did not flock to them they were disconcerted and alarmed. Although the Senate had at first fled through ignorance and

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710 alarm, they had confidence in it nevertheless as being their 44 own relatives and friends, and oppressed equally with themselves by the tyranny. They had apprehensions of the plebeians and of Cæsar's soldiers, many of whom were then present in the city, some lately dismissed from the service and to whom lands had been allotted; others who had been already settled, but had come in to serve as an escort for Cæsar on his departure from the city. The assassins had fears of Lepidus, too, and of the army under him in the city, and also of Antony in his character as consul, lest he should consult the people alone, instead of the Senate, and bring some fearful punishment upon them.

120. In this frame of mind they hastened up to the Capitol with their gladiators. There they took counsel and decided to bribe the populace, hoping that if some would begin to praise the deed others would join in from love of liberty and longing for the republic. They thought that the Roman people were still exactly the same as they had heard that they were at the time when the elder Brutus expelled the kings. They did not perceive that they were counting on two incompatible things, namely, that people could be lovers of liberty and bribe-takers at the same time. The latter class were much easier to find of the two, because the government had been corrupt for a long time. The plebeians were now much mixed with foreign blood, freedmen had equal rights of citizenship with them, and slaves were dressed in the same fashion as their masters. Except in the case of the senatorial rank the same costume was common to slaves and to free citizens. Moreover the distribution of corn to the poor, which took place in Rome only, drew thither the lazy, the beggars, the vagrants of all Italy. The multitude of discharged soldiers no longer returned one by one to their native places as formerly, fearing that some of them might be accused of having engaged in iniquitous wars,[1] but were sent in groups to unjust allotments of lands and houses belonging to others. These were now encamped in temples and sacred enclosures under one standard, and one person appointed to lead them to their colony, and as they had already sold their own be-

[1] The text here is very obscure.

Y.R. 710 longings preparatory to their departure they were in readiness to be bought for any purpose.[1] B.C. 44

121. From so many men of this kind a considerable crowd was drawn speedily and without difficulty to the party of Cassius in the forum. These, although bought, did not dare to praise the murder, because they feared Cæsar's reputation and doubted what course the rest of the people might take. So they shouted for peace as being for the public advantage, and with one accord recommended this policy to the magistrates, intending by this device to secure the safety of the murderers;[2] for there could be no peace without amnesty to them. While they were thus engaged the prætor Cinna, a relative of Cæsar by marriage, made his appearance, advanced unexpectedly into the middle of the forum, laid aside his prætorian robe, as if disdaining the gift of a tyrant, and called Cæsar a tyrant and his murderers tyrannicides. He extolled their deed as exactly like that of their ancestors, and ordered that the men themselves should be called from the Capitol as benefactors and rewarded with public honors. So spake Cinna, but when the hirelings saw that the unbought portion of the crowd did not agree with them they did not call for the men in the Capitol, nor did they do anything else but continually demand peace.

122. But after Dolabella,[3] a young man of noble family who had been chosen by Cæsar as consul for the remainder of his own year when he was about to leave the city, and who had put on the consular garb and taken the other insignia of the office, came forward next and railed against the man who had advanced him to this dignity and pretended to have been privy to the conspiracy against him,

[1] This is a very strong picture of the corruption of Roman society at that time and of its incapacity for self-government.

[2] The text of all the codices except the Vatican reads: *παρεκάλουν (τέχνασμα τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν ἀνδροφονῶν) σοτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες;* which means that this shouting for peace "was a device of the murderers themselves," which is not unlikely, but it presents grammatical difficulties which led Schweighäuser to change the word *ἐστι* to *ἐς τὴν* and to reject the parenthesis, as Geslen had done before him. The Vatican codex has this very reading, as Mendelssohn points out.

[3] Dolabella had married Cicero's daughter Tullia. He was a great scoundrel and turncoat.

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710 and that his hand alone was unwillingly absent — some say 44
that he even proposed a decree that this day should be consecrated as the birthday of the republic — then the hirelings took new courage, seeing that they had both a prætor and a consul on their side, and demanded that Cassius and his friends be summoned from the Capitol. They were delighted with Dolabella and thought that now they had a young optimate, who was also consul, to oppose against Antony. Only Cassius and Marcus Brutus came down, the latter with his hand still bleeding from the wound he had received when he and Cassius were dealing blows at Cæsar. When they reached the forum neither of them said anything which betokened humility. On the contrary they praised each other as for something confessedly admirable. They considered the city fortunate and bore special testimony to the merits of Decimus Brutus because he had furnished them gladiators at a critical moment. They exhorted the people to be like their ancestors, who had expelled the kings, although the latter were exercising the government not by violence like Cæsar, but had been chosen according to law. They advised the recall of Sextus Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great, the defender of the republic against Cæsar), who was still warring against Cæsar's lieutenants in Spain. They also recommended that the tribunes, Cæsetius and Marullus, who had been deposed by Cæsar, should be recalled from exile.

123. After they had thus spoken Cassius and Brutus returned directly to the Capitol, because they had not yet entire confidence in the present posture of affairs. Having first enabled their friends and relatives to come to them in the temple, they chose from among them messengers to treat on their behalf with Lepidus and Antony for conciliation and the preservation of liberty, and for warding off the evils that would befall the country if they should not come to an agreement. This the messengers asked, not extolling the deed that had been done, however, for they did not dare to do this in the presence of Cæsar's friends. They asked that it be tolerated now that it was done, out of pity for the perpetrators (who had been actuated, not by hatred toward Cæsar, but by love of country), and out of compassion for the city exhausted by long-continued civil strife,

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710 and which a new sedition might deprive of the good men 44 still remaining. "If enmity were entertained against certain persons," they said, "it would be an act of impiety to gratify it in a time of public danger. It would be far preferable to sink private animosity in the public weal, or, if anybody were irreconcilable, at least to postpone his private grievances for the present."

124. Antony and Lepidus wished to avenge Cæsar, as I have already said, either on the score of friendship, or of the oaths they had sworn, or because they were aiming at the supreme power themselves and thought that their course would be easier if so many men of such rank were put out of the way at once. But they feared the friends and relatives of these men and the leaning of the rest of the Senate toward them, and especially they feared Decimus Brutus, who had been chosen by Cæsar governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army. So they decided to watch a future opportunity and to try if possible to draw over to themselves the army of Decimus, which was already disheartened by its protracted labors. Having come to this decision, Antony replied to the messengers, "We shall do nothing from private enmity, yet in consequence of the crime and of the oaths we have all sworn to Cæsar, that we would either protect his person or avenge his death, a solemn regard for our oath requires us to drive out the guilty and to live with a smaller number of innocent men rather than that all should be liable to the divine curse. Yet for our own part, although this seems to us the proper course, we will consider the matter with you in the Senate and we will agree to whatever may be decided in common to be propitious for the city."

125. Thus did Antony make a safe answer. The messengers returned their thanks and went away full of hope, for they had entire confidence that the Senate would coöperate with them. Antony ordered the magistrates to have the city watched by night, stationing guards at intervals as in the daytime, and he had fires lighted throughout the city. By this means the friends of the murderers were enabled to traverse the city the whole night, going to the houses of the senators and beseeching them in behalf of these men and of the republic. On the other hand, the

Y.R. 710 leaders of the colonized soldiers ran about uttering threats lest they should fail to hold the lands set apart, either already assigned or proclaimed to them. And now the more honest citizens began to recover courage when they learned how small was the number of the conspirators, and when they remembered Cæsar's merits they became much divided in opinion. That same night Cæsar's money and his official papers were transferred to Antony's house, either because Calpurnia thought that they would be safer there or because Antony ordered it. B.C. 44

Chapter XVIII

Antony summons the Senate — Debate on the Killing of Cæsar — Antony cunningly proposes a Self-denying Ordinance — It is rejected — A Speech by Lepidus — Antony addresses the Senate — The Senate votes Amnesty to the Murderers and Confirmation of Cæsar's Acts

126. While these things were taking place Antony, by means of a notice sent around by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because he did not dare to go to the senate-house situated just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the city by bringing in the army. Lepidus, however, did that. As daylight was approaching the senators assembled at the temple of Tellus, including the prætor Cinna, clothed again in the robe of office which he had cast off the previous day as the gift of a tyrant. Some of the unbribed people and some of Cæsar's veterans, when they saw him, were indignant that he, although a relative of Cæsar, should have been the first to slander him in a public speech, threw stones at him, pursued him, and when he had taken refuge in a house brought fagots and were about to set it on fire when Lepidus came up with his soldiers and stopped them. This was the first decided expression of opinion in favor of Cæsar. The hirelings, and the murderers themselves, were alarmed by it.

127. In the Senate only a small number were free from sympathy with the act of violence and indignant at the murder. Most of them sought to aid the murderers in vari-

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710 ous ways. They proposed first to invite them to be present 44 under a pledge of safety and sit in council with them, thus changing them from criminals to judges. Antony did not oppose this because he knew they would not come; and they did not come. Then, in order to test the feeling of the Senate, some of them extolled the deed openly and without disguise, called the men tyrannicides, and proposed that they should be rewarded. Others were opposed to giving rewards, saying that the men did not want them and had not done the deed for the sake of reward, but thought that they should merely be thanked as public benefactors. Still others were opposed to thanking them and thought that it would be sufficient to grant them impunity. Such were the devices to which they resorted, and were trying to discover which of these courses the Senate would be inclined to accept first, hoping that after a little that body would be more easily led on by them to the other measures. The honester portion revolted at the murder as impious, but out of respect for the great families of the murderers would not oppose the granting of impunity, yet they were indignant at the proposal to honor them as public benefactors. Others argued that if impunity were granted it would not be fitting to refuse the most ample means of safety. When one speaker said that honoring them would be dishonoring Cæsar, it was answered that it was not permissible to prefer the interests of the dead to those of the living. Another having said plainly that one of two things must be decided beforehand — either that Cæsar was a tyrant or that his murderers were to be pardoned as an act of clemency — the others [Cæsar's enemies] seized upon this simple proposition and asked that an opportunity be given them of expressing themselves by vote concerning the character of Cæsar, under the solemn pledge that, if they voluntarily should give their unbiased judgment, the penalty of the oath should not befall them for having previously voted Cæsar's decrees under compulsion — never willingly and never until they were in fear for their own lives, after the killing of Pompey and of numberless others besides Pompey.

128. When Antony, who had been looking on and waiting, saw that sufficient material for discussion had been introduced which was not open to dispute, he resolved to

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balk their scheme by exciting fear and anxiety for themselves. Seeing a great number of these senators themselves who had been designated by Cæsar for city magistracies, priestly offices, and the command of provinces and armies (for, as he was going on a long expedition, he had appointed them for five years), Antony proclaimed silence as consul and said: "Those who are asking for a vote on the character of Cæsar ought to consider in the first place that all the things done and decreed under his government and while he was the chosen ruler of the state remain in full force. If it is decided that he usurped the government by violence, his body should be cast out unburied and all his acts annulled. These acts, to speak briefly, embrace the whole earth and sea, and most of them will stand whether we like them or not, as I shall presently show. Those things which alone belong to us to decide, because they concern us alone, I will propose to you first, so that you may gain a conception of the more difficult questions from a consideration of the easier ones. Almost all of us have held office under Cæsar; or do so still, having been chosen thereto by him; or will do so soon, having been designated in advance by him; for, as you know, he had disposed of the city offices, the yearly magistracies, and the command of provinces and armies for five years. If you are willing to resign these offices (for this is entirely in your power), I will put that question to you first and then I will take up the remaining ones."

129. Having lighted this kind of a firebrand among them, not in reference to Cæsar, but to themselves, Antony relapsed into silence. They rose immediately *en masse*, and with loud clamor protested against new elections or submitting their claims to the people. They preferred to keep a firm hold on what they possessed. Some were opposed to new elections because they were not of lawful age, or for some other unavowed reason, and among these was the consul Dolabella himself, who could not legally stand for an election to that office as he was only twenty-five years old. Although he had pretended yesterday that he had a share in the conspiracy, a sudden change came over him, and now he reviled the majority for seeking to confer honor on murderers and dishonoring their own magistrates under the pre-

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710 text of securing the safety of the former. Some encouraged 44 Dolabella himself and the other magistrates to believe that they would obtain for them the same positions from the people's gratitude without any change of officers, but simply by the more legal method of election in place of monarchical appointment, and that it would be an additional honor to them to hold the same places under the monarchy and the republic. While these speakers were still talking some of the prætors, in order to ensnare the opposing faction, laid aside their robes of office as if they were about to exchange them for a more legal title to their places, in common with the others; but the others did not fall into the trap. They knew that these men could not control the future election.

130. While affairs were proceeding thus, Antony and Lepidus went out of the Senate, having been called for by a crowd that had been assembling for some time. When they were perceived in an elevated place, and the shouters had been with difficulty silenced, one of their number, either of his own volition or because he was prompted, called out, "Have a care lest you suffer a like fate." Antony loosened his tunic and showed him a coat-of-mail inside, thus exciting the beholders, as though it were impossible even for consuls to be safe without arms. Some cried out that the deed must be avenged, but a greater number demanded peace. To those who called for peace Antony said, "That is what we are striving for, that it may come and be permanent, but it is hard to get security for it when so many oaths and solemnities were of no avail in the case of Cæsar." Then, turning to those who demanded vengeance, he praised them as more observant of the obligations of oaths and religion, and added, "I myself would join you and would be the first to call for vengeance if I were not the consul, who must care for what is called expedient rather than for what is just. So these people who are inside tell us. So Cæsar himself perhaps thought when, for the good of the country, he spared those citizens whom he captured in war, and was slain by them."

131. When Antony had in this way worked upon both parties by turns, those who wanted to have vengeance on the murderers asked Lepidus to execute it. As Lepidus

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710 was about to speak those who were standing at a distance 44
asked him to go down to the forum where all could hear him equally well. So he went directly there, thinking that the crowd was now changing its mind, and when he had taken his place on the rostra he groaned and wept in plain sight for some time. Then recovering himself, he said, "Yesterday I stood with Cæsar here, where now I am compelled to ask what you wish me to do about his murder." Many cried out "Avenge Cæsar." The hirelings shouted on the other side, "Peace for the republic." To the latter he replied, "Agreed, but what kind of a peace do you mean? By what sort of oaths shall it be confirmed? We all swore the national oaths to Cæsar and we have trampled on them — we who are considered the most distinguished of the oath-takers." Then, turning to those who called for vengeance, he said, "Cæsar, that truly sacred and revered man, has gone from us, but we hesitate to deprive the republic of those who still remain. Our conscript fathers," he added, "are considering these matters, and this is the opinion of most of them." They shouted again, "Avenge him yourself." "I would like to," he replied, "and it is right that I should do it even alone, but it is not fitting that you and I should wish to do it alone, or alone set ourselves up against them."

132. While Lepidus was employing such devices the hirelings, who knew that he was ambitious, praised him and offered him Cæsar's place as pontifex maximus. He was delighted. "Mention this to me later," he said, "if you consider me worthy of it," whereupon the mercenaries, encouraged by their offer of the priesthood, insisted still more strongly on peace. "Although it is contrary to religion and law," he said, "I will do what you wish." So saying he returned to the Senate, where Dolabella had consumed all the intervening time in unseemly talk about his own office. Antony, who was waiting to see what the people would do, looked at Dolabella with derision, for the two were at variance with each other. After enjoying the spectacle sufficiently and perceiving that the people would not do anything rashly, he decided, under compulsion, to extend protection to the murderers (concealing the necessity, however, and pretending to act in this way as a

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710 matter of the greatest favor), and at the same time to have 44 Cæsar's acts ratified and his plans carried into effect by common agreement. Accordingly he commanded silence again and spoke as follows: —

133. "Fellow-citizens, while you have been considering the case of the offenders I have not joined in the debate. When you called for a vote on Cæsar instead of on them, I had brought forward, until this moment, only one of Cæsar's acts. This one threw you into these many present controversies, and not without reason, for if we resign our offices we shall confess that we (so many and of such high rank as we are) came by them undeservedly. Consider the matters that cannot be easily controlled by us. Reckon them up by cities and provinces, by kings and princes. Almost all of these, from the rising to the setting sun, Cæsar either subdued for us by force and arms, or organized by his laws, or confirmed in their allegiance by his favors and kindness. Which of these powers do you think will consent to be deprived of what they have received, unless you mean to fill the world with new wars — you who propose to spare these wretches for the sake of your exhausted country? But, omitting the more distant dangers and apprehensions, we have others not only near at hand, but even of our own household throughout Italy itself, — men who are here after receiving the rewards of victory, many of them with arms in their hands and in the same organization in which they fought, men assigned to colonies by Cæsar (many thousands of whom are still in the city), — what think you they will do if they are deprived of what they have received, or expect to receive, in town and country? The past night showed you a sample. They were coursing the streets with threats against you who were supplicating in behalf of the murderers.

134. "Think you that Cæsar's fellow-soldiers will allow his body to be dragged through the streets, dishonored, and cast away unburied — for our laws prescribe such treatment for tyrants? Will they consider the rewards they have received for their victories in Gaul and Britain secure, when he who gave them is treated with contumely? What will the Roman people themselves do? What the Italians? What ill-will of gods and men will attend you if you put

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710 ignominy upon one who advanced your dominion to shores of the ocean hitherto unknown? Will not such fickleness on our part be held in greater reprobation and condemnation if we vote to confer honor on those who have slain a consul in the senate-house, an inviolable man in a sacred place, in full senate, under the eyes of the gods, and if we dishonor one whom even our enemies honor for his bravery? I warn you to abstain from these proceedings as being sacrilegious in themselves and not in our power. I move that all the acts and intentions of Cæsar be ratified and that the authors of the crime be by no means applauded (for that would be neither pious, nor just, nor consistent with the ratification of Cæsar's acts). Let them be spared, if you please, as an act of clemency only, for the sake of their families and friends, if the latter will accept it in this sense in behalf of the murderers and acknowledge it in the light of a favor." 44

135. When Antony had said these things with intense feeling and impetuosity, all the others remaining silent and agreeing, the following decree was passed: "There shall be no prosecution for the murder of Cæsar, but all of his acts and decrees are confirmed, because this policy is deemed advantageous to the commonwealth." The friends of the murderers insisted that those last words should be added for their security, implying that Cæsar's acts were confirmed as a measure of utility and not of justice; and in this matter Antony yielded to them. When this decree had been voted the leaders of the colonists who were present asked for another act special to themselves, in addition to the general one, in order to confirm their colonies. Antony did not oppose this, but rather intimidated the Senate to pass it. So this was adopted, and another like it concerning the colonists who had been already sent out. The Senate was thereupon dismissed, and a number of senators collected around Lucius Piso, whom Cæsar had made the custodian of his will[1] and urged him not to make the will

[1] Suetonius says that Cæsar deposited his will with the eldest of the Vestal virgins. His account is as follows: "At the instance of Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, Cæsar's will was opened and read in the house of Antony, which will he had made on the preceding ides of September, in his Lavican villa, and had deposited with the eldest of the

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710 public, and not to give the body a public funeral, lest some new disturbance should arise therefrom. 44
As he would not yield they threatened him with a public prosecution for defrauding the people of such an amount of wealth which ought to go into the public treasury; thus giving new signs that they were suspicious of a tyranny.

Chapter XIX

Piso calls for the Reading of Cæsar's Will — Brutus addresses the People — His Speech applauded

136. Then Piso called out with a loud voice and demanded that the consuls should reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said: "These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are already so many tyrants over us in place of one. They forbid the burying of a Pontifex Maximus and they threaten me when I produce his will. Moreover, they intend to confiscate his property as that of a tyrant. They have ratified Cæsar's acts as regards themselves, but they annul those which relate to him. It is no longer Brutus or Cassius who do this, but those who instigated them to the murder.[1] Of his burial you are the masters. Of his will I am, and never will I betray what has been intrusted to me unless somebody kills me also." This speech excited clamor and indignation on all sides, and especially among those who hoped that they should obtain something from the will. It was decreed that the will should be read in public and that

Vestal virgins. Quintus Tubero relates that Pompey had been constantly made his heir in the wills written by him from his first consulship to the beginning of the civil war, and that this fact was publicly made known to the army. In his latest will he made the three grandsons of his sisters his heirs, giving to Gaius Octavius three-fourths and to Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius the remaining fourth." (*Jul.* 83.) The epitome of Livy (cxvi.) says that the will gave Octavius one-half.

[1] *ἀλλ' οἱ κἀκείνους ἐς τόνδε τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐκριπίσαντες.* Combes-Dounous translates these words: "Those who have hurled Brutus and Cassius into the abyss," an error due perhaps to a hasty reading of the last word and deriving it from *ἐκρίπτω*, to cast away, instead of *ἐκριπίζω*, to instigate.

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710 Cæsar should have a public funeral. Thereupon the Senate adjourned. 44

137. When Brutus and Cassius learned what had been done they sent messengers to the plebeians, whom they invited to come up to them at the Capitol. Presently a large number came together and Brutus addressed them as follows: "Here, citizens, we meet you, we who yesterday met together with you in the forum. We have come hither, not as taking refuge in a sanctuary (for we have done nothing wrong), nor in a citadel (for as regards our own affairs we intrust ourselves to you), but the sudden and unexpected attack made upon Cinna compelled us to do so. I know that our enemies accuse us of perjury and say that we render a lasting peace difficult. What we have to reply to these accusations we will say in your presence, citizens, with whose help we shall do what remains to be done for the restoration of democratic government. After Gaius Cæsar advanced from Gaul with hostile arms against his country, and Pompey, the most popular man among you, suffered as he did, and after him a great number of other good citizens, who had been driven into Africa and Spain, had perished, Cæsar was naturally apprehensive, although his power was firmly intrenched, and we granted him amnesty at his request and confirmed it by oath. If he had required us to swear not only to condone the past, but to be willing slaves for the future, what would our present accusers have done? For my part I think that, being Romans, they would have chosen to die many times rather than take an oath of voluntary servitude.

138. "If Cæsar did no more against your liberty then are we perjured. But if he restored to you neither the magistracies of the city nor those of the provinces, neither the command of armies, the priestly offices, the leadership of colonies, nor any other posts of honor; if he neither consulted the Senate about anything nor asked the authority of the people, but if Cæsar's command was all in all; if he was not even ever satiated with our misfortunes as Sulla was (for Sulla, when he had destroyed his enemies restored to you the government of the commonwealth, but Cæsar, as he was going away for another long military expedition, anticipated by his appointments your elections for five

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710 years), what sort of freedom was this in which not a ray of hope could be any longer discerned? What shall I say of the defenders of the people, Cæsetius and Marullus? Were not the incumbents of a sacred and inviolable office ignominiously banished? Although the law and the oath prescribed by our ancestors forbid calling the tribunes to account during their term of office, Cæsar banished them even without a trial. Have *we* then, or has *he*, done violence to inviolable persons — unless you say that Cæsar was sacred and inviolable, upon whom we conferred that distinction not of our own free will, but by compulsion, and not until he had invaded his country with arms and killed a great number of our noblest and best citizens? Did not our fathers in a democracy and without compulsion take an oath that the office of tribune should be sacred and inviolable, and declare with maledictions that it should remain so forever? What has become of the public tribute? What of the public accounts? Who opened the public treasury without our consent? Who removed part of the consecrated money? Who threatened with death another tribune who opposed him? 44

139. "'But what kind of an oath after this will be a guarantee of peace?' they ask. If there is no tyrant there will be no need of oaths. Our fathers never needed any. If anybody else seeks to establish tyranny, no faith, no oath, will ever bind Romans to the tyrant. This we said before, while we were still in danger; this we will continue to say forever for our country's sake. We, who held places of honor securely at the hands of Cæsar, had a higher regard for our country than for our offices. They slander us about the colonies and so excite you against us. If there are any present who have been settled in colonies, or are about to be settled, you will gratify me by making yourselves known."

140. A large number did so, whereupon Brutus continued, "Bravo, my men, you have done well to come here with the others. You ought, since you receive due honors and bounties from your country, to give her equal honor in return as she sends you forth. The Roman people gave you to Cæsar to fight against the Gauls and Britons, and your valiant deeds call for recognition and recompense. But Cæsar,

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710 taking advantage of your military oath, led you against 44
your country much against your will. He led you against our best citizens in Africa, in like manner against your will. If this were all that you had done you would perhaps be ashamed to ask reward for such exploits, but since neither envy, nor time, nor the forgetfulness of men can extinguish the glory of your deeds in Gaul and Britain, you shall have the rewards due to them, such as the people gave to those who served in the army of old, yet not by taking land from your unoffending fellow-citizens, nor by dividing other people's property with new-comers, nor by considering it proper to requite your services by means of acts of injustice. When our ancestors overcame their enemies they did not take from them all their land. They shared it with them and colonized a portion of it with Roman soldiers, who were to serve as guards over the vanquished. If the conquered territory was not sufficient for the colonies, they added some of the public domain or bought other land with the public money. In this way the people colonized you without harm to anybody. But Sulla and Cæsar, who invaded their country like a foreign land and needed guards and garrisons against their own country, did not dismiss you to your homes, nor buy land for you, nor divide among you the property of citizens which they confiscated, nor did they make compensation for the relief of those who were despoiled, although those who despoiled them had plenty of money from the treasury and plenty from confiscated estates. They took, by the law of war, — nay, by the practice of robbery, — from Italians who had committed no offence, who had done no wrong, their land and houses, tombs and temples, which we do not take away even from foreign enemies, except a mere tenth of their produce by way of tax.

141. "They divided among you the property of your own people, the very ones who sent you with Cæsar to the Gallic war, and who offered up their prayers at your festival of victory. They colonized you in that way collectively, under your standards and in your military organization, so that you could neither enjoy peace nor be free from fear of those whom you displaced. The man who is driven out and deprived of his goods will always be watching his

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710 opportunity to ensnare you. This was the very thing that 44
the tyrants sought to accomplish, — not to provide you with land, which they could have obtained for you elsewhere; but that you, because always beset by lurking enemies, might be the firm bulwark of a government that was committing wrongs in common with you. A common interest between tyrants and their satellites grows out of common crimes and common fears. And this, ye gods, they call colonization, in which are common the lamentations of a kindred people and the expulsion of innocent men from their homes. They purposely made you enemies to your countrymen for their own advantage. We, the defenders of the republic, to whom our opponents say they grant safety out of pity, confirm this very same land to you and will confirm it forever; and to this promise we call to witness the god of this temple.[1] You have and shall keep what you have received. None of us will take it from you, neither Brutus, nor Cassius, nor any of us who have incurred danger for your freedom. The one thing wanting in this business we will supply — a reconciliation with your fellow-countrymen most agreeable to them now, as they hear that we shall at once pay them out of the public money the price of this land of which they have been deprived; so that not only shall your colony be secure, but it shall not even be exposed to hatred."

142. While Brutus was still speaking in this sort, and after the assembly was dissolved, his discourse was approved by all as being entirely just. He and his associates were admired as men of intrepidity, and as peculiarly the friends of the people. The latter were favorably inclined toward them, and promised to coöperate with them on the following day. At daybreak the consuls called the people to an assembly and communicated to them the decisions of the Senate, and Cicero pronounced a long encomium on the decree of amnesty. The people were delighted with it and invited Cassius and his friends to come down from the Capitol. The latter asked that hostages be sent to them in the meantime, and, accordingly, the sons of Antony and Lepidus were sent. When Brutus and his associates made

[1] The temple of the Capitoline Jove.

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710 their appearance they were received with shouts of applause, 44
and when the consuls desired to say something the people would not allow them to do so, but demanded that they should first shake hands with these men and make peace with them, which was done. The minds of the consuls were much disturbed by fear and envy lest the conspirators should get the upper hand of them in other political matters.

CHAPTER XX

The Reading of Cæsar's Will — Antony's Funeral Oration — The Populace roused to Fury — The Murderers flee from the City

143. Cæsar's will was now produced and the people ordered that it be read at once. In it Octavius, the grandson of his sister, was adopted by Cæsar. His gardens were given to the people as a place of recreation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave seventy-five Attic drachmas.[1] The people were again stirred to anger when they saw the will of this lover of his country, whom they had before heard accused of tyranny. Most of all did it seem pitiful to them that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, should have been named by him for adoption in the second degree; for it was customary for the Romans to name alternate heirs in case of the failure of the first. Whereupon there was still greater disturbance among the people, who considered it shocking and sacrilegious that Decimus should have conspired against Cæsar when he had been adopted as his son. When Piso brought Cæsar's body into the forum a countless multitude ran together with arms to guard it, and with acclamations and magnificent display placed it on the rostra. Wailing and lamentation were renewed for a long time, the armed men clashed their shields, and gradually they began to repent themselves of the amnesty. Antony, seeing how things were going, did not abandon his purpose, but, having been chosen to deliver the funeral oration, as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative (for he was related to

[1] About $14.

Y.R. 710 Cæsar on his mother's side), resumed his artful design and spoke as follows:— B.C. 44

144. "It is not fitting, citizens, that the funeral oration of so great a man should be pronounced by me alone, but rather by his whole country. The decrees which all of us, in equal admiration of his merit, voted to him while he was alive — the Senate and the people acting together — I will read, so that I may voice your sentiments rather than my own." Then he began to read with a severe and gloomy countenance, pronouncing each sentence distinctly and dwelling especially on those decrees which declared Cæsar to be superhuman, sacred, and inviolable, and which named him the father of his country, or the benefactor, or the chieftain without a peer. With each decree Antony turned his face and his hand toward Cæsar's corpse, illustrating his discourse by his action, and at each appellation he added some brief remark full of grief and indignation; as, for example, where the decree spoke of Cæsar as the father of his country he added that this was a testimonial of his clemency; and again, where he was made sacred and inviolable and everybody else was to be held unharmed who should find refuge with him, — "Nobody," said Antony, "who found refuge with him was harmed, but he, whom you declared sacred and inviolable, was killed, although he did not extort these honors from you as a tyrant, and did not even ask for them. Most servile are we if we give such honors to the unworthy who do not ask for them. But you, faithful citizens, vindicate us from this charge of servility by paying such honors as you now pay to the dead."

145. Antony resumed his reading and recited the oaths by which all were pledged to guard Cæsar and Cæsar's body with all their strength, and all were devoted to perdition who should not avenge him against any conspiracy. Here, lifting up his voice and extending his hand toward the Capitol, he exclaimed, "Jupiter, guardian of this city, and ye other gods, I stand ready to avenge him as I have sworn and vowed, but since those who are of equal rank with me have considered the decree of amnesty beneficial, I pray that it may prove so." A commotion arose among the senators in consequence of this exclamation, which seemed to have special reference to them. So Antony

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710 quieted them again and recanted, saying, "It seems to me, 44
fellow-citizens, that this deed is not the work of human beings, but of some evil spirit. It becomes us to consider the present rather than the past, since the greatest danger approaches, if it is not already here, lest we be drawn into our former civil commotions and lose whatever remains of noble birth in the city. Let us then conduct this sacred one to the abode of the blest, chanting our accustomed hymn of lamentation for him."

146. Having spoken thus, he gathered up his garments like one inspired, girded himself so that he might have the free use of his hands, took his position in front of the bier as in a play, bending down to it and rising again, and sang first as to a celestial deity. In order to testify to Cæsar's godlike origin, he raised his hands to heaven and with rapid speech recited his wars, his battles, his victories, the nations he had brought under his country's sway, and the spoils he had sent home, extolling each exploit as miraculous, and all the time exclaiming, "Thou alone hast come forth unvanquished from all the battles thou hast fought. Thou alone hast avenged thy country of the outrage put upon it 300 years ago, bringing to their knees those savage tribes, the only ones that ever broke into and burned the city of Rome." Many other things Antony said in a kind of divine frenzy, and then lowered his voice from its high pitch to a sorrowful tone, and mourned and wept as for a friend who had suffered unjustly, and prayed that his own life might be given in exchange for Cæsar's. Carried away by extreme passion he uncovered the body of Cæsar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator's blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus, mourned with him in the most lugubrious manner, and from sorrow became again filled with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited. Somewhere from the midst of these lamentations Cæsar himself was supposed to speak, recounting the benefits he had conferred on his enemies by name, and speaking of the murderers themselves, exclaiming, as it were, "Oh that I should

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710 have spared these men to slay me!"[1] The people could endure it no longer. It seemed to them monstrous that all the murderers who, with the single exception of Decimus Brutus, had been made prisoners while belonging to the faction of Pompey, and who, instead of being punished, had been advanced by Cæsar to the magistracies of Rome and to the command of provinces and armies, should have conspired against him; and that Decimus should have been deemed by him worthy of adoption as his son. 44

147. While they were in this temper and were already near to violence, somebody raised above the bier an image of Cæsar himself made of wax.[2] The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twenty-three wounds in all parts of the body and on the face, which gave him a shocking appearance. The people could no longer bear the pitiful sight presented to them. They groaned, and, girding themselves, they burned the senate-chamber where Cæsar was slain, and ran hither and thither searching for the murderers, who had fled some time previously. They were so mad with rage and grief that like wild beasts they tore in pieces the tribune Cinna on account of his similarity of name to the prætor Cinna who had made a speech against Cæsar, not waiting to hear any explanation about the similarity of name, so that no part of him was ever found for burial.[3] They carried fire to the houses of the other murderers, but the domestics valiantly fought them off and the neighbors besought them to desist. So the people abstained from the use of fire, but they threatened to come back with arms on the following day.[4]

[1] A quotation from the Latin poet Pacuvius. The original is given in Suetonius: "Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent!"

[2] Waxen images of the deceased were common in the funerals of distinguished persons in Rome.

[3] Suetonius (*Jul.* 85) and Valerius Maximus (ix. 9) agreed with Appian that this victim of error was the tribune Cinna, whose surname was Helvius. Plutarch says that he was a poet, or rather a man of a poetical turn.

[4] Merivale (*Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, ii. 84) considers this report of Antony's funeral oration "no rhetorical fiction, but a fair representation both in manner and substance of the actual harangue." Cicero bore testimony to the effectiveness of Antony's discourse when

Y.R. 710 148. The murderers fled from the city secretly. The B.C. 44 people returned to Cæsar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods. Being prevented from doing so by the priests, they placed it again in the forum where in the olden time stood the palace of the kings of Rome. There they collected together sticks of wood and benches, of which there were many in the forum, and anything else they could find of that sort, for a funeral pile, throwing on it the adornments of the procession, some of which were very costly. Some of them cast their own crowns upon it and many military gifts. Then they set fire to it, and the entire people remained by the funeral pile throughout the night. There an altar was first erected,[1] but now there stands the temple of Cæsar himself, as he was deemed worthy of divine honors; for Octavius, his son by adoption, who took the name of Cæsar, and, following in the footsteps of the latter in political matters, greatly strengthened the government founded by Cæsar, and which remains to this

he spoke of it in the second Philippic (36) as "that beautiful encomium, that mournful dirge, that appeal to passion," adding: "thou, thou I say, didst light the fire that half consumed his body and burned down the house of L. Bellienus. Thou didst precipitate upon our homes that mob of abandoned men, mostly slaves, whom we drove back by force and violence."

[1] Suetonius gives a similar account of Cæsar's funeral, and adds: "They afterward placed in the forum a solid column of Numidian marble nearly twenty feet high and inscribed on it the words 'To the Father of his Country,' at which they continued for a long time to offer sacrifice, to take vows, and to adjust controversies in which the oath was taken in the name of Cæsar." (*Jul.* 85.) This column was demolished by the consul Dolabella, who flung over the Tarpeian rock the free persons who participated in these ceremonies, crucified the slaves, and caused the ground to be repaved. This must have taken place shortly before the first of May, as Cicero, then at Puteoli, wrote a letter to Atticus on that day in which he mentioned it as news just received by him. "Oh, my admirable Dolabella," he says, "I now call him mine, for believe me, I had some little doubt of him before. The affair presents a great outlook. Over the rock! On the cross! The column demolished, the place itself under contract to be paved. Is it not heroic? He seems to me to have put an end to that appearance of regret for Cæsar which was hitherto spreading from day to day, and becoming chronic, so that I feared lest it should prove dangerous to our tyrant-killers." (*Ad Att.* xiv. 15.)

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710 day, decreed divine honors to his father. From this example the Romans now pay like honors to each emperor at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings while living. 44

Chapter XXI

Comparison of Cæsar with Alexander

149. So died Gaius Cæsar on the so-called Ides of March, which correspond nearly with the middle of the Greek month Anthesterion, which day the soothsayer predicted that he should not survive. Cæsar jokingly said to him early in the morning, "Well, the Ides have come," and the latter, nothing daunted, answered, "But they are not past." Despising such prophecies, uttered with so much confidence by the soothsayer, and other prodigies that I have previously mentioned, Cæsar went on his way and was killed, being fifty-six years of age.[1] He was a man most fortunate in all things, superhuman, of grand designs, and fit to be compared with Alexander. Both were men of the greatest ambition, both were most skilled in the art of war, most rapid in executing their decisions, most reckless of danger, least sparing of themselves, and relying as much on audacity and luck as on military skill. Alexander made a long journey through the desert in the hot season to visit the oracle of Ammon and crossed the Gulf of Pamphylia against a head sea successfully. A god restrained the

[1] Mommsen maintains, contrary to the testimony of Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian, that Cæsar was fifty-eight instead of fifty-six years old at the time of his death. He reasons that Cæsar must have been born as early as the year 652 in order to hold the offices of ædile, prætor, and consul at the time when he was first elected to them, supposing that he was elected to each as early as he could be legally. Although the age limit was relaxed in special cases, we find no mention of exception in favor of Cæsar, and it is hardly possible that three exceptions could have been made in favor of so illustrious a man without any mention of it occurring in ancient writings. There are other facts which tend to corroborate Mommsen's view, which is now generally accepted by scholars.

waves for him until he had passed over, and sent him rain on his journey by land. In India he ventured upon an unknown sea. Once he was the first to ascend the scaling ladders and leaped over the wall among his enemies alone, and in this condition received thirteen wounds. Yet he was never defeated, and he finished almost every war in one or two battles. He conquered many barbarians in Europe and made himself master of Greece, a people hard to control, fond of freedom, who boasted that they had never obeyed anybody before him, except Philip for a little while under the guise of his leadership in war. He overran almost the whole of Asia. To sum up Alexander's fortune and power in a word, he acquired as much of the earth as he saw, and died while he was devising means to capture the rest.

150. The Adriatic Sea yielded to Cæsar, becoming navigable and quiet in mid-winter. He also crossed the western ocean to Britain, which had never been attempted before, and he ordered his pilots to break their ships in pieces by running them on the rocks of the British coast.[1] He was exposed to the violence of another tempest when alone in a small boat by night, and he ordered the pilot to spread his sails and to keep in mind Cæsar's fortune rather than the waves of the sea. He often dashed against the enemy single-handed when all others were afraid. He fought thirty pitched battles in Gaul alone, where he conquered forty nations so formidable to the Romans previously that in the law which exempted priests and old men from military enrolment an exception was made of a Gallic war, in case of which priests and old men were required to serve in the army. Once in the course of the Alexandrian war, when he was left alone on a bridge in extreme peril, he threw off his purple garment, leaped into the sea, and, being sought by the enemy, swam under water a long distance, coming to the surface only at intervals to take breath, until he came near a friendly ship, when he made

[1] This is nonsense. Cæsar himself says (*Gallic War*, v. 10) that while he was advancing into the interior of Britain, word was brought to him that a great storm had arisen in the night and dashed almost all of his ships in pieces on the shore, so that he was obliged to abandon his expedition temporarily.

himself known by raising his hands, and was saved. In these civil wars, in which he engaged either through apprehension, as he says, or ambition, he was brought in conflict with the first generals of the age and with many large armies, not now of barbarians, but of Romans in the highest state of efficiency and good fortune, and, like Alexander, he overcame them all by one or two engagements with each. His forces were not, like Alexander's, always victorious, for they were defeated by the Gauls most disastrously under the command of his lieutenants, Cotta and Titurius; and in Spain Petreius and Afranius shut them up like an army besieged. At Dyrrachium and in Africa they were put to flight, and in Spain they were terrified by young Pompey. But Cæsar himself was always undaunted and was victorious at the end of every war. He grasped, partly by force, partly by good-will, the Roman power which ruled the earth and sea from the setting sun to the river Euphrates, and held it much more firmly and strongly than Sulla had done, and he showed himself to be a king in spite of opposition, even though he did not accept the title. And, like Alexander, he expired while planning new wars.

151. Their armies were equally zealous and devoted to both, and in battles they fought with the greatest ferocity, but were often disobedient and mutinous on account of the severity of their tasks. Yet they mourned and longed for their commanders when they were dead, and paid them divine honors. Both were well-formed and handsome in person, and both were descended from Jupiter, Alexander through Æacus and Hercules, Cæsar through Anchises and Venus. Both were as prompt to fight their adversaries as they were ready to make peace and grant pardon to the vanquished, and after pardon to confer benefits; for they desired only to conquer. Thus far let the parallel hold good, although they did not both start toward empire from the same footing; Alexander from the monarchy founded by Philip, Cæsar from a private station, well born and illustrious indeed, but very short of money.

152. Both of them despised the prodigies relating to themselves, but they did not deal harshly with the soothsayers who predicted their death; for more than once the very same prodigies confronted both, pointing to the same

end. Twice in the case of each the victims were without a liver, and the first time it indicated a doubtful danger. It happened to Alexander when he was among the Oxydracæ and while he was leading his Macedonians in scaling the enemy's wall. The ladder broke, leaving him alone on the top. Taking counsel of his courage, he leaped inside the town against his enemies, and was struck severely in the breast and on the neck by a very heavy club, so that he fell down, and was rescued with difficulty by the Macedonians, who broke down the gates in their alarm for him. It happened to Cæsar in Spain while his army was in great fear of young Pompey, and hesitated to join battle. Cæsar dashed in advance of all into the space between the armies, and received 200 darts on his shield until his army, moved by shame and fear for his safety, rushed forward and rescued him. Thus in the case of each the first victims without livers presaged danger of death; the second presaged death itself. As Peithagoras, the soothsayer, was inspecting the entrails, he told Apollodorus, who was in fear of Alexander and Hephestion, not to be afraid of them, because they would both be out of the way very soon. Hephestion died immediately, and Apollodorus, being apprehensive lest some conspiracy might exist against Alexander, communicated the prophecy to him. Alexander smiled, and asked Peithagoras himself what the prodigy meant. When the latter replied that it meant fatality, he smiled again. Nevertheless, he commended Apollodorus for his good-will and the soothsayer for his freedom of speech.

153. As Cæsar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said, jestingly, that the same thing had happened to him in Spain. When the soothsayer replied that he was in danger then too, and that the omen was now more deadly, he yielded somewhat to the warning and sacrificed again, and continued to do so until he became vexed with the priests for delaying him, and went in and was killed. The same kind of thing happened to Alexander. As he was returning from India to Babylon with his army, and was nearing the latter place, the Chaldeans urged him to postpone his entrance for the present. He replied with the iambic verse, "He who guesses right is the best

prophet."[1] Again, the Chaldeans urged him not to march his army into the city while looking toward the setting sun, but to go around and enter facing the east. It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being bothered by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west. Not long after entering he went down the Euphrates in a boat to the river Pallacotta, which takes its water from the Euphrates and carries it away in marshes and ponds and thus hinders the irrigation and navigation of the Assyrian country. While he was considering how he should dyke this stream and while he was sailing out to it for this purpose, it is said that he jeered at the Chaldeans because he had gone into Babylon and sailed out of it safely. But scarcely had he returned back to it when he died. Cæsar jeered at the prophecies in like manner, for the soothsayer predicted the day of his death, saying that he should not survive the Ides of March, and when the day came Cæsar mocked him saying, "The Ides have come"; and the same day he died. Thus both alike made light of the prophecies concerning themselves, and were not angry at the soothsayers who uttered them, yet they became the inevitable victims of the prophecies.

154. Both were students of the science and arts[2] of their own country, of Greece, and of foreign nations. As to those of India, Alexander interrogated the Brahmins who seem to be the astronomers and learned men of that country, like the Magi among the Persians. Cæsar likewise interrogated the Egyptians while he was there restoring Cleopatra to the throne, by which means he made many improvements among the peaceful arts for the Romans. He changed the calendar, which was still in disorder by reason of the intercalary months till then in use, for the Romans reckoned the year by the moon. Cæsar changed it to the sun's course,

[1] This is a line from Euripides, which had passed into a proverb in both Greek and Latin. Schweighäuser cites several authors who used it — among them Arrian (*Expeditio Alex.* vii. 16), who also gives us a more detailed account of this affair of Alexander and the Chaldeans.

[2] *ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς*: literally, "the science of excellence," which is by no means clear. Nauck marks the last word doubtful.

as the Egyptians reckoned it.[1] It happened in his case that not one of the conspirators against him escaped, but all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son, just as the murderers of Philip were by Alexander. How they were punished the succeeding books will show.

[1] Cæsar also, at this time, changed the beginning of the year from the first of March to the first of January, because the latter was the date for changing the supreme magistrates. "Both changes came into effect on the first January 709 of the city (45 B.C.), and along with them the use of the Julian Calendar, so named after its author, which, long after the fall of the monarchy of Cæsar, remained the regulative standard of the civilized world, and in the main is so still." (*Mommsen.*)



MARK ANTONY

In the Vatican Museum, Rome

BOOK III

THE CIVIL WARS (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER I

The City after Cæsar's Funeral — Antony puts the False Marius to Death — He deceives the Senate — He falsifies Cæsar's Decrees — Brutus and Cassius leave the City — Dolabella appointed Governor of Syria and Antony Governor of Macedonia

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710 1. THUS was Gaius Cæsar, who had been foremost in 44
extending the Roman sway, slain by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers were brought to punishment. How the most distinguished of them were punished this book and the next one will show, and the other civil wars waged by the Romans will likewise be included in them.

2. The Senate blamed Antony for his funeral oration over Cæsar, by which, chiefly, the people were incited to disregard the decree of amnesty lately passed, and to scour the city in order to fire the houses of the murderers. But he changed it from bad to good feeling toward himself by one capital stroke of policy. There was a certain pseudo-Marius in Rome named Amatius. He pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and for this reason was popular with the masses. Being, according to this pretence, a relative of Cæsar, he was pained beyond measure by the latter's death, and erected an altar on the site of his funeral pyre. He collected a band of reckless men and made himself a perpetual terror to the murderers. Some of these had fled from the city, and those who had accepted the command of provinces from Cæsar himself had gone away to take charge of the same, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Asia adjoining Ionia, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the special

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710 favorites of the Senate, had been chosen by Cæsar as governors for the following year, the former of Syria, and the latter of Macedonia. Being still city prætors, they remained there necessarily, and in their official capacity they conciliated the colonists by various decrees, and among others by one enabling them to sell their allotments, the law hitherto forbidding the alienation of the land till the end of twenty years. 44

3. It was said that Amatius was only waiting an opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On the rumor of this plot,[1] Antony, using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they enjoyed it exceedingly because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness. The followers of Amatius, and the plebeians generally, missing Amatius and feeling indignation at the deed, and especially because it had been done by Antony, whom the people had honored, determined that they would not be scorned in that way. With shouts they took possession of the forum, exclaiming against Antony and called on the magistrates, in place of Amatius, to dedicate the altar and to offer the first sacrifices on it to Cæsar. Having been driven out of the forum by soldiers sent by Antony, they became still more indignant, and vociferated more loudly, and some of them showed places where Cæsar's statues had been torn from their pedestals. One man told them that he could show a shop where the statues had been broken up. The others followed, and having witnessed the fact, they set fire to the place. Finally, Antony sent more soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others were captured, and of these the slaves were crucified and the freemen thrown over the Tarpeian rock.[2]

[1] *τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων.* There is a curious resemblance in these words to our slang phrase "getting on to his game."

[2] Cicero in the first Philippic refers to the killing of this impostor as the act of Antony and Dolabella in common, and says that the rest of the work was done by Dolabella alone; but he believes that if Antony had been present he would have coöperated with his colleague. Valerius Maximus says that the pseudo-Marius was a horse doctor (*equarius*

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4. So this tumult was quieted. The extreme fondness of the plebeians for Antony was turned into extreme hatred. The Senate was delighted, because it believed that Brutus and his associates could not rest secure otherwise.[1] Antony also moved that Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still much beloved by all) should be recalled from Spain, where he was still at war with Cæsar's lieutenants, and that he should be paid 50,000,000 of Attic drachmas[2] out of the public treasury for his father's confiscated property and be appointed commander of the sea, as his father had been, with charge of all the Roman ships, wherever situated, which were needed for immediate service. The astonished Senate accepted each of these decrees with alacrity and applauded Antony the whole day; for nobody,

medicus) and that his real name was Herophilus. "He gave out that C. Marius was his grandfather, and so extolled himself that several colonies of veterans, and towns of the first class, and almost all the rural communities, adopted him as their patron. When Cæsar opened his gardens to the people after he had made an end of young Pompey in Spain, Herophilus, who was separated from Cæsar by only the space between two columns, was received by the crowd with almost as much enthusiasm as himself, so that unless the powers of the godlike Cæsar had put a stop to these shameful outbursts, the republic would have received the same hurt as in the case of Equitius (the pseudo-Gracchus)." (*Val. Max.* ix. 15. 2.)

[1] As we have no dates in the text we are left in confusion as to the state of affairs in Rome at any particular time. The assassination took place on the 15th of March. Cassius and Marcus Brutus retired to Lanuvium as soon as it appeared that their lives were in danger in Rome. A letter written to them in the month of April by Decimus Brutus, who had not yet gone to Cisalpine Gaul, is preserved among the letters of Cicero. He says he has had an interview with Hirtius, who tells him that Antony did not consider Rome a safe place for any of them, because the soldiers and the plebeians were so incensed against them. "Do you ask me," he continues, "what I advise? Let us submit to fortune, withdraw from Italy, and retire to Rhodes, or some other part of the world. If better luck comes, we can return to Rome; if no change occurs, we can live in exile; if worst comes to worst, we can try our last resources." (*Ad Fam.* xi. 1.)

[2] In the 13th Philippic of Cicero (5) the amount voted to Sextus Pompey in compensation for his father's confiscated estates is put at seven hundred millions of sesterces or $28,700,000 of our money. This was exactly the amount that was in the temple of Ops (the produce of confiscated estates) at the time of Cæsar's death (2d Philippic, 37). Fifty millions of Attic drachmas would have been equal to about $10,000,000.

Y.R. 710 in their estimation, was more devoted to the republic than the elder Pompey, and hence nobody was more regretted. Cassius and Brutus, who were of Pompey's faction, and the ones most honored by all at that time, thought that they would be entirely safe. They thought that what they had done would be confirmed, and the republic be at last restored, and their party successful. Wherefore Cicero praised Antony continually,[1] and the Senate, perceiving that the plebeians were making plots against him on its account, allowed him a guard for his personal safety, chosen by himself from the veterans who were sojourning in the city. B.C. 44

5. Antony, either because he had done everything for this very purpose, or seizing the happy chance as very useful to him, enlisted his guard and kept adding to it till it amounted to 6000 men. They were not common soldiers. He thought that he should easily get the latter for his service otherwise. These were composed wholly of centurions, as being fit for command, and of long experience in war, and his own acquaintances through service under Cæsar. He appointed tribunes over them, chosen from their own number and adorned with military decoration, and these he held in honor and made sharers of his public councils. The Senate began to be suspicious of the number of his guards, and of his care in choosing them, and advised him to reduce them to a moderate number so as to avoid invidious remarks. He promised to do so as soon as the disorder among the plebeians should be quieted. It had been decreed that all the things done by Cæsar, and all that he intended to do, should be ratified. The memoranda of Cæsar's intentions were in Antony's possession, and Cæsar's secretary, Faberius, was obedient to him in every way since Cæsar himself, on the point of his departure, had placed all petitions of this kind in Antony's dis-

[1] In the first Philippic Cicero acknowledges that he was deceived by Antony during the first few days after the assassination. Among other things Antony moved that the dictatorship be forever abolished. He produced a *senatus consultum* in writing for this purpose, which he wished to have passed; "and when it was read," says Cicero, "we adopted his motion with the greatest enthusiasm and by another *senatus consultum* returned our thanks to him in the amplest terms." (*Phil.* I. I.)

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710 cretion. Antony made many additions in order to secure 44 the favor of many persons. He made gifts to cities, to princes, and to his own guards, and although all were advised that these were Cæsar's memoranda, yet the recipients knew that the favor was due to Antony. In the same way he enrolled many new names in the list of senators and did many other things to please the Senate, in order that it might not bear him ill-will in reference to his guards.

6. While Antony was busy with these matters, Brutus and Cassius, seeing nobody among either the plebeians or the veterans inclined to be at peace with them, and considering that any other person might lay plots against them like that of Amatius, became distrustful of the fickleness of Antony, who now had an army under his command. Seeing that the republic was not confirmed by deeds, they suspected Antony for that reason also. They reposed most confidence in Decimus Brutus, who had three legions near by. They sent secretly to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, asking them to collect money quietly and to prepare an army. They were anxious to enter upon the government of the provinces assigned to them by Cæsar, but as the time for doing so had not yet come, they thought that it would be indecorous for them to leave their service as city prætors unfinished, and that they should incur the suspicion of an undue longing for power over the provinces. They preferred, nevertheless, to spend the remainder of their year as private citizens somewhere, as a matter of necessity, rather than serve as prætors in the city where they were not safe, and were not held in honor corresponding to the benefits they had conferred upon their country. Being in this state of mind, and the Senate holding the same opinion as themselves, the latter gave them charge of the supply of corn for the city from all parts of the world until the time should arrive for them to take command of their provinces. This was done in order that Brutus and Cassius might not at any time seem to have fled. So great was the anxiety and regard for them that the Senate cared for the other murderers chiefly on their account.[1]

[1] Brutus and Cassius were at Antium when the Senate appointed them commissioners of the food-supply, and Cicero went there to confer with them. A consultation was held in which the mother, the sister,

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710 7. After Brutus and Cassius had left the city, Antony, 44
being in possession of something like monarchical power, cast about for the government of a province and an army for himself. He desired that of Syria most of all, but he was not ignorant of the fact that he was under suspicion and that he would be more so if he should ask for it; for the Senate had secretly encouraged Dolabella, the other consul, to oppose Antony, as the former had always been at variance with the latter. Antony, knowing that this young Dolabella was himself ambitious, persuaded him to solicit the province of Syria and the army enlisted against the Parthians, in place of Cassius, and to ask it, not from the Senate, which had not the power to grant it,[1] but from the people by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately brought forward the law. The Senate accused him of nullifying the decrees of Cæsar. He replied that Cæsar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to anybody, and that Cassius, who had been assigned to the command of Syria, had himself been the first to alter the decrees of Cæsar by authorizing colonists to sell their allotments before the expiration of the legal period of twenty years. He said also that it would be an indignity to himself if he, being Dolabella,[2] were not chosen for Syria instead of Cassius. The Senate then persuaded one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to falsify the signs in the sky during the comitia,[3] expecting that Antony, who was both consul and augur, and was supposed to be still at variance with Dolabella, would coöperate with him. But when the voting came on, and Asprenas said that the signs in the sky were unfavorable, as it was not his business to attend to this,

and the wife of Brutus took part. Cassius at first declined his appointment, saying that he considered it an insult, but he was finally soothed, and both of them accepted. (*Ad Att.* xv. 11.)

[1] οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν. This means that it is not within the competence of the Senate to assign the province of Syria to Dolabella. Yet in the next section we are informed that it was within the competence of the Senate to assign the province of Macedonia to Antony. The fact is that the competency of the Senate extended to both. Combes-Dounous suggests ἢ instead of οὐ, changing it from negative to affirmative.

[2] That is, a man in his position, a consul whose term was about expiring.

[3] In which case the proceedings must be suspended.



THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS

Vatican Museum (Duruy)

Y.R. B.C.

710 Antony, angry at his lying, ordered that the tribes should 44
go on with the voting on the subject of Dolabella.

8. Thus Dolabella became governor of Syria and general of the war against the Parthians and of the forces enlisted for that purpose by Cæsar, together with those that had gone in advance to Macedonia. Then it became known for the first time that Antony was coöperating with Dolabella. After this business had been transacted by the people, Antony solicited the province of Macedonia from the Senate, well knowing that after Syria had been given to Dolabella, they would be ashamed to deny Macedonia to himself, especially as it was a province without an army. They gave it to him unwillingly, at the same time wondering why Antony should let Dolabella have the army, but glad nevertheless that the latter had it rather than the former. They themselves took the opportunity to ask of Antony other provinces for Brutus and Cassius. They assigned to them Cyrenaica and Crete; or, as some say, both of these to Cassius and Bithynia to Brutus. Such was the state of affairs at Rome.

Chapter II

The Young Octavius in Apollonia — He comes to Italy — Cæsar's Soldiers receive him gladly — He moves toward Rome — He resolves to avenge Cæsar — He visits Antony and reads him a Lecture — Antony's Reply

9. Octavius, the son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister, had been appointed master of Cæsar's horse for one year, for Cæsar at times made this a yearly office, passing it around among his friends. Being still a young man, he had been sent by Cæsar to Apollonia on the Adriatic to be educated and trained in the art of war, so that he might accompany Cæsar on his expeditions. Troops of horse from Macedonia were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill, and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Cæsar. As he received all with kindness, an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army. At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, it was announced to him one evening

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710 that Cæsar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to him, and were then the most powerful ones under him. As the rest of the story was untold he was overcome by fear, not knowing whether the deed had been committed by the Senate as a whole or was confined to the immediate actors; nor whether they had already been punished by the people, or would be,[1] or whether the people were pleased with what had been done. 44

10. Thereupon his Roman friends advised him to take refuge with the army in Macedonia to insure his personal safety, and that when he should learn that the murder was only a private transaction he should take courage and avenge Cæsar of his enemies; and there were high officers who promised to protect him if he would come. But his mother and his stepfather, Philippus, wrote to him from Rome not to be too confident and not to attempt anything rash, but to bear in mind what Cæsar, after conquering every enemy, had suffered at the hands of his closest friends; that it would be safer under present circumstances to choose a private life and hasten to them at Rome, but with caution. Octavius yielded to them because he did not know what had happened after Cæsar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the Adriatic, not to Brundusium (for as he had made no test of the army at that place he avoided all risk), but to another town not far from it and out of the direct route, named Lupiæ. There he took lodgings and remained for a while.

11. When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Cæsar's will and the decrees of the Senate, his relatives still cautioned him to beware of the enemies of Cæsar, as he was the latter's adopted son and heir. They even ad-

[1] *καὶ εἰ δίκην ἤδη τοῖς πλείοσι δεδώκοιεν, ἢ καὶ τοῦδε εἶεν.* All commentators are agreed that the last two words are corrupt; they convey no meaning. Among the numerous conjectures made by way of emendation that of Bekker seems the most reasonable, viz.: *ἢ καὶ δώσοιεν*, "or would be punished." This reading has been followed in the translation. The Didot Latin version follows that of Schweighäuser, viz.: *utrum poenas jam populo dedissent interfectores, aut saltem eas timerent;* i.e. "whether the murderers had already been punished by the people, or at least feared punishment."

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710 vised him to renounce the adoption, together with the 44
inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Cæsar, would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundusium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him. When the army there advanced to meet him, and received him as Cæsar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of Cæsar; for it is customary among the Romans for the adopted son to take the name of the adoptive father. He not only assumed it, but he changed his own name and his patronymic completely, calling himself Cæsar the son of Cæsar, instead of Octavius the son of Octavius, and he continued to do so ever after. Directly multitudes of men from all sides flocked to him as Cæsar's son, some from friendship to Cæsar, others his freedmen and slaves, and with them other soldiers, who were either engaged in conveying supplies and money to the army in Macedonia, or bringing other money and tribute from other countries to Brundusium.

12. Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, and by the glory of Cæsar, and by the good-will of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger and larger each day. Although he was safe from any open attacks by reason of the multitude surrounding him, he was all the more on his guard against secret ones, because almost all of those accompanying him were new acquaintances. Some of the towns were not altogether favorable to him, but Cæsar's veterans, who had been distributed in colonies, flocked from their settlements to greet the young man. They bewailed Cæsar, and cursed Antony for not proceeding against the monstrous crime, and said that they would avenge it if anybody would lead them. Octavius praised them, but postponed the matter for the present and sent them away. When he had arrived at Tarracina, about 400 stades from Rome, he received news that Cassius and Brutus had been deprived of Syria and Macedonia by the consuls, and had received the smaller provinces of Cyrenaica and Crete by way of compensation; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompey had been recalled; that some new members had been added to the Senate in ac-

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710 cordance with Cæsar's memoranda, and that many other 44
things were happening.[1]

13. When he arrived at the city his mother and Philippus and the others who were interested in him were anxious about the estrangement of the Senate from Cæsar, and the decree that his murderers should not be punished, and the contempt shown him by Antony, who was then all-powerful, and had neither gone to meet Cæsar's son when he was coming nor sent anybody to him. Octavius quieted their fears, saying that he would call on Antony, as the younger man on the older and the private citizen on the consul, and that he would show proper respect for the Senate. As for the decree, he said that it had been passed because nobody had prosecuted the murderers; whenever anybody should have courage to prosecute, the people and the Senate would lend their aid to him as one enforcing the law, the gods would do so for the justice of his cause, and perhaps Antony himself would help. If he (Octavius) should reject the inheritance and the adoption, he would be false to Cæsar and would wrong the people who had a share in the will. As he was finishing his remarks he burst out that he ought not only to incur danger, but even to die, after he had been preferred before all others in this way by Cæsar, if he would show himself worthy of one who had himself braved every danger. Then turning to his mother, he repeated the words of Achilles to Thetis, which were then fresh in his mind: —

[1] Octavius went to Rome by way of Naples. In a letter to Atticus, written at Puteoli in April, Cicero says: "Octavius arrived at Naples on the 14th Kalends. There Balbus saw him on the morning of the following day and on the same day came to me at Cumæ to tell me that he was going to claim his inheritance; but, as you say, he will have a lively time with Antony." (*Ad Att.* xiv. 10.) In another letter he writes: "Octavius has arrived at the neighboring villa of Philippus. He is devoted to me." In the next letter he says: "Octavius treats me with the greatest distinction and friendship. Some call him Cæsar. Philippus does not; therefore I do not. I am sure that he cannot be a good citizen, so many of those around him threaten death to our friends and say that these things cannot be borne. What think you when this boy shall come to Rome where our liberators cannot live in safety? They will always be famous, and happy also in the consciousness of what they have done. But, unless I am deceived, we shall be flat on our backs." (*Ad Att.* xiv. 12.)

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"Then quickly let me die since fate denied
That I should aid my friend against the foes
That slew him."

Iliad, xviii. 98, Bryant's translation.[1]

After saying this he added that these words of Achilles, and especially the deed that followed, had of all things given him immortal renown; and he invoked Cæsar not as a friend, but a father; not as a fellow-soldier, but a commander-in-chief; not as one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of sacrilegious murder in the senate-house.

14. Thereupon his mother's anxiety was changed to joy, and she embraced him as the only one worthy of Cæsar. She checked his speaking and urged him to prosecute his designs with the favor of fortune. She advised him, however, to use art and patience rather than open boldness. Octavius approved of this policy and promised to adopt it in action, and forthwith sent around to his friends the same evening, asking them to come to the forum early in the morning and bring a crowd with them. There presenting himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was the city prætor, he said that he accepted the adoption of Cæsar; for it is a Roman custom that adoptions are confirmed by witnesses before the prætors. When the public scribes had taken down his declaration, Octavius went from the forum straightway to Antony. The latter was in the gardens that Cæsar had given to him, that had formerly been Pompey's. As Octavius was kept waiting at the vestibule for some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of Antony's displeasure. When he was admitted there were greetings and mutual questionings proper to the occasion. When the time came to speak of the business in hand, Octavius said: —

15. "Father Antony (for the benefits that Cæsar conferred upon you and your gratitude toward him warrant me in giving you that title), for some of the things that you have done since his death I praise you and owe you thanks; for others I blame you. I shall speak freely of what my sorrow prompts me to speak. When Cæsar was killed you

[1] Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι.

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710 were not present, as the murderers detained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved him or incurred the danger of sharing the same fate with him. If the latter would have befallen you, then it is well that you were not present. When certain senators proposed rewards to the murderers as tyrannicides you strongly opposed them. For this I give you hearty thanks, although you knew that they intended to kill you also;[1] not, as I think, because you were likely to avenge Cæsar, but, as they themselves say, lest you should be his successor in the tyranny. At the same time they made it clear that they were not tyrant-killers, but murderers,[2] by taking refuge in the Capitol, either as guilty suppliants in a temple or as enemies in a fortress. How then could they have obtained amnesty and impunity for their crime unless some portion of the Senate and people had been corrupted by them? Yet you, as consul, ought to have seen what would be for the interest of the majority,[3] and if you had wished to avenge such a monstrous crime, or to reclaim the erring, your office would have enabled you to do either. But you sent hostages from your own family to the murderers at the Capitol for their security. Let us suppose that those who had been corrupted forced you to do this also, yet when Cæsar's will had been read, and you had delivered your righteous funeral oration, and the people, in lively remembrance of Cæsar, had carried firebrands to the houses of the murderers, but spared them for the sake of their neighbors, agreeing to come back armed the next day, why did you not coöperate with them and lead them with fire or arms? Or why did you not 44

[1] The interpretation of this passage is doubtful. Schweighäuser thinks that Octavius means to say that he thanks Antony for opposing the proposition to reward the murderers, although he may have had a selfish interest in doing so.

[2] *Ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυραννοκτόνοι εἰ μὴ καὶ φονεῖς ἦσαν*: literally, "these men were not tyrant-killers unless they were murderers also." I have followed the Latin version of Schweighäuser, which differs from those of his predecessors. He said that the text conveyed no clear meaning to him, and that his version was guesswork.

[3] *καὶ σὲ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων ὁρᾷν ἐχρῆν, ὕπατον ὄντα.* Schweighäuser and his predecessors rendered these words: "You as consul ought to see what would be agreeable to the majority (*quid placeret pluribus*)." The Didot version more properly renders it *quid prodesset pluribus.*

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710 bring them to trial, if trial was necessary for men seen in 44
the act of murder — you, Cæsar's friend; you, the consul; you, Antony?

16. "The pseudo-Marius was put to death by your order in the plenitude of your authority, but you connived at the escape of the murderers, some of whom have passed on to the provinces which they nefariously hold as gifts at the hands of him whom they slew. These things were no sooner done than you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded, very properly, to strip them and possess yourselves of Syria and Macedonia. I should have owed you thanks for this also, had you not immediately voted them Cyrenaica and Crete; had you not preferred these fugitives for governorships, where they can always defend themselves against me, and had you not tolerated Decimus Brutus in the command of Hither Gaul, although he, like the rest, was one of my father's slayers. It may be said that these were decrees of the Senate. But you put the vote and you presided over the Senate — you who ought most of all to have opposed them on your own account. To grant amnesty to the murderers was merely to insure their personal safety as a matter of favor, but to vote them provinces and rewards forthwith was to insult Cæsar and annul your own opinion. Grief has compelled me to speak these words, against the rules of decorum perhaps, considering my youth and the respect I owe you. They have been spoken, however, to the firmest friend of Cæsar, to one who was invested by him with the greatest honor and power, and who would have been adopted by him no doubt if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Æneas in exchange for that of Hercules; for this created doubt in his mind when he was thinking strongly of designating you as his successor.

17. "For the future, Antony, I conjure you by the gods who preside over friendship, and by Cæsar himself, to change somewhat the measures that have been adopted, for you can change them if you wish to; if not, that you will hereafter aid and coöperate with me in punishing the murderers, with the help of the people and of those who are still my father's faithful friends. If you still have regard for the conspirators and the Senate, do not be hard on us.

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710 So much for that. You know about my private affairs and 44
the expense I must incur for the legacy which my father directed to be given to the people, and the haste involved in it lest I may seem churlish by reason of delay, and lest those who have been assigned to colonies be compelled to remain in the city and waste their time on my account. Of Cæsar's movables, that were brought immediately after the murder from his house to yours as a safer place, I beg you to take keepsakes and anything else by way of ornament and whatever you like to retain from us. But in order that I may pay the legacy to the people, please give me the gold coin that Cæsar had collected for his intended wars. That will suffice for the distribution to 300,000 men now. For the rest of my expenses I may perhaps borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or from the public treasury on your security, if you will give it, and I will offer my own property for sale at once."

18. While Octavius was speaking in this fashion Antony was astonished at his freedom of speech and his boldness, which seemed much beyond the bounds of propriety and of his years. He was offended by the words because they were wanting in the respect due to him, and still more by the demand for money, and, accordingly, he replied in the severe terms following: "Young man, if Cæsar left you the government, together with the inheritance and his name, it is proper for you to ask and for me to give the reasons for my public acts. But if the Roman people never surrendered the government to anybody to dispose of in succession, not even when they had kings, whom they expelled and swore never to have any more (this was the very charge that the murderers brought against your father, saying that they killed him because he was no longer leading but reigning), then there is no need of my answering you as to my public acts. For the same reason I release you from any indebtedness to me in the way of gratitude for those acts. They were performed not as a favor to you, but to the people, except in one particular, which was of the greatest importance to Cæsar and to yourself. For if, to secure my own safety and to shield myself from enmity, I had allowed honors to be voted to the murderers as tyrannicides, Cæsar would have been declared a tyrant, to whom

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710 neither glory, nor any kind of honor, nor confirmation of his acts would have been possible; who could make no valid will, have no son, nor any burial of his body, even as a private citizen. The laws provide that the bodies of tyrants shall be cast out unburied, their memory stigmatized, and their property confiscated. 44

19. "Apprehending all of these consequences, I entered the lists for Cæsar, for his immortal honor, and his public funeral, not without danger, not without incurring hatred to myself, contending against hot-headed, blood-thirsty men, who, as you know, had already conspired to kill me; and against the Senate, which was displeased with your father on account of his usurped authority. But I willingly chose to incur these dangers and to suffer anything rather than allow Cæsar to remain unburied and dishonored — the most valiant man of his time, the most fortunate in every respect, and the one to whom the highest honors were due from me. It is by reason of the dangers I incurred that you enjoy your present distinction as the successor of Cæsar, his family, his name, his dignity, his wealth. It was more becoming in you to testify your gratitude to me for these things than to reproach me for concessions made to soothe the Senate, or in compensation for what I demanded of it, or in pursuance of other needs or reasons — you a younger man addressing an older one. But enough of that. You hint that I am ambitious of the leadership. I am not ambitious of it, although I do not consider myself unworthy of it. You think that I am distressed because I was not mentioned in Cæsar's will, though you agree with me that the family of the Heraclidæ is enough to content one.

20. "As to your pecuniary needs and your wishing to borrow from the public funds, I should think you must be joking, unless we might believe that you are still ignorant of the fact that the public treasury was left empty by your father. After he assumed the government the public revenues were brought to him instead of to the treasury, and they will presently be found among Cæsar's assets when we vote an investigation into these matters. This will not be unjust to Cæsar now that he is dead, nor would he say that it was unjust if he were living and were asked for the ac-

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710 counts. And as there will be many private persons to dispute with you concerning single pieces of property, you may assume that this portion will not be uncontested. The money transferred to my house was not so large a sum as you conjecture, nor is any part of it in my custody now. The men in power and authority, except Dolabella and my brothers, divided up the whole of it straightway as the property of a tyrant, but were brought around by me to support the decrees in favor of Cæsar,[1] and you, if you are wise, when you get possession of the remainder, will distribute it among those who are disaffected toward you rather than among the people. The former, if they are in harmony with you,[2] will send the people, who are to be colonized, away to their settlements. The people, however, as you ought to have learned from the Greek studies you have been lately pursuing, are as unstable as the waves of the sea, now advancing, now retreating. In like manner, among us also, the people are forever exalting their favorites, and casting them down again." 44

Chapter III

Disagreement between Antony and Octavius — Litigation over Cæsar's Estate — Growing Popularity of Octavius — Dolabella proceeds to Syria — Antony schemes to get Command of the Army in Macedonia — Dolabella puts Trebonius to Death

21. Feeling outraged by the many insulting things said by Antony, Octavius went away, invoking his father re-

[1] The truth was that Antony paid his own debts with Cæsar's money. So Cicero tells us in the second Philippic. "Where," he asks, "are the seven hundred million sesterces that were registered at the temple of Ops? His money was indeed a cause for mourning, yet if it was not to be returned to the rightful owners it might relieve us from taxes. But you owed four million sesterces on the Ides of March. How did it happen that you were free from debt on the Kalends of April?" (*Phil.* ii. 37.)

[2] ἂν συμφρονῶσι: to which Schweighäuser adds σοι. All the codices except one read σωφρονῶσι, *i.e.*, "if they are wise." The Teubner edition adheres to the latter reading; the Didot to the former. I have preferred the former because it gives point to Antony's advice. It fur-

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710 peatedly by name, and offered for sale all the property 44
which had come to him by the inheritance, at the same time exhorting the people to stand by him. While this hasty action made manifest Antony's enmity toward him, and the Senate voted an immediate investigation of the public accounts, most of them grew apprehensive of the young Cæsar[1] on account of the favor in which his father was held by the soldiers and the plebeians, and on account of his own present popularity based on the expected distribution of the money, and by reason of the wealth which had fallen to him in such vast measure that in the opinion of many he would not restrict himself to the rank of a private citizen. But they were most apprehensive of Antony, lest he should bring the young Cæsar, distinguished and rich as he was, under his own control, and grasp the sovereignty held by the elder Cæsar. Others were delighted with the present state of affairs, believing that the two men would come in conflict with each other; and that the investigation concerning the public money would presently put an end to the wealth of Octavius, and that the treasury would be filled thereby because much of the public property would be found in Cæsar's estate.

22. In the meantime many persons brought lawsuits against Octavius for the recovery of landed property, some making one claim and some another, differing in other respects, but for the most part having this in common, that it had been confiscated from persons who had been banished or put to death by the proscription. These suits were brought before Antonius himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were brought before other magistrates, Octavius was worsted through Antony's influence, although he showed by the public records that the purchases had

nishes a reason why Octavius should use his money in one way rather than in the other. It would enable him to get rid of his expensive allies.

[1] *οἱ πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν περὶ τῷ νέῳ Καίσαρι.* The word *περί* implies that they feared *for* him, *i.e.*, lest some harm should befall him, but as Schweighäuser points out, this idea is not consistent with what follows. A few lines below we read that they were most apprehensive of Antony, *ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ.* Accordingly he (S.) thinks we are justified in reading *ἐπί* in both places, although all the codices read *περί.*

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710 been made by his father,[1] and that the last decree of the Senate had confirmed all of Cæsar's acts. Great wrongs were done him in these judgments, and the losses in consequence thereof were going on without end, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a certain portion of the inheritance under Cæsar's will, complained to Antony, both for themselves and for Octavius, that they were suffering injustice in violation of the Senate's decree. They thought that he ought to annul only the things done in derogation of Cæsar, and to ratify all that had been done by him. Antony acknowledged that his course was perhaps somewhat contrary to the agreements voted. The decrees also, he said, had been recorded in a sense different from the understanding at the time. While hastily passing a mere decree of amnesty, it had been registered that whatever had been previously determined on should stand unrepealed, not for its own sake, not because it was satisfactory in all respects, but rather to promote good order and to quiet the people, who had been thrown into tumult by these events. It would be more just, he added, to observe the spirit than the letter of the decree, and not to make an unseemly opposition to so many men who had lost their own and their ancestors' property in the civil convulsions, and to do this in favor of a young man who had received an amount of other people's wealth disproportionate to a private station and beyond his hopes, and who was not making good use of his fortune, but employing it in the rashest adventures. He would take care of them (Pedius and Pinarius) after their portion should have been separated from that of Octavius. This was the answer made by Antony to Pedius and Pinarius. So they took their portion immediately, in order not to lose their own share by the lawsuits, and they did this not so much on their own account as on that of Octavius, for they were going to bestow the whole of it upon him soon afterward. 44

23. The games were now approaching, which Gaius

[1] *τά τε ὠνήματα τῷ πατρὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύς.* Schweighäuser, being of the opinion that the words *ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου* meant "at the public expense," conceived that the word *οὐκ* had been accidentally omitted, *i.e.*, Octavius showed that the purchases had been made by his father *not* with public money. Mendelssohn, with better reason, thinks

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710 Antonius, the brother of Antony, was about to give in 44
behalf of Brutus, the prætor, as he attended also to the other duties of the prætorship which devolved on him in the latter's absence. Lavish expense was incurred in the preparations for them, in the hope that the people, gratified by the spectacle, would recall Brutus and Cassius. Octavius, on the other hand, intrigued against this scheme, distributing the money derived from the sale of his property among the head men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among the first comers. He went around to the places where his property was on sale and ordered the auctioneers to announce the lowest possible price for everything, both on account of the uncertainty and danger of the lawsuits still pending, and on account of his own zeal for the people,[1] all of which brought him both popularity and sympathy as one undeserving of such treatment. When, in addition to what he had received as Cæsar's heir, he offered for sale his own property derived from his father Octavius, and whatever he had from other sources, and all that belonged to his mother and to Philippus, and the shares of Pedius and Pinarius which he begged from them, in order to make the distribution to the people (because in consequence of the litigation Cæsar's property was not sufficient even for this purpose), then the people considered it no longer the gift of the elder Cæsar, but of the younger one, and they commiserated him deeply and praised him[2] both for what he endured and for what he aspired to be. It was evident that they would not long tolerate the wrong that Antony was doing him.

24. They showed their feelings clearly while Brutus' games were in progress, lavish as these were. Although a certain number, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of

that they mean "by the public scribe." He thinks also that τὰ ὠνήματα may possibly signify title deeds, *emptionis instrumenta*.

[1] διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σπουδήν: this may possibly mean "on account of his own haste," *i.e.*, his own need of money.

[2] ὁ δῆμος . . . ἠλέει καὶ ἐπῄνουν. Combes-Dounous calls attention to this sentence as a case where a noun in the singular number governs a verb in the singular and another in the plural in the same sentence, as though we should say in English "the people pities and praise him."

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710 the spectators were thus wrought up to a feeling of pity for 44
them, crowds ran in and stopped the games until the demand for their recall ceased. When Brutus and Cassius learned that Octavius had frustrated what they had hoped to obtain from the games, they decided to go to Syria and Macedonia, which had been theirs before these provinces were voted to Dolabella and Antony, and to seize them by force. When their intentions became known, Dolabella hastened to Syria, taking the province of Asia in his way in order to collect money there. Antony, thinking that he should soon need troops for his own purposes, conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in Macedonia, which was composed of the very best material and was of large size (it consisted of six legions, besides a great number of archers and light-armed troops, much cavalry, and a corresponding amount of apparatus of all kinds), although it properly belonged to Dolabella, who had been intrusted with Syria and the war against the Parthians, because Cæsar was about to use these forces against the Parthians. Antony wanted it especially because it was close at hand, and, by crossing the Adriatic, could be thrown at once into Italy.

25. Presently a rumor was noised about that the Getæ, learning of Cæsar's death, had made an incursion into Macedonia and were ravaging it. Antony asked the Senate to give him an army in order to punish them, saying that this army had been prepared by Cæsar to be used against the Getæ before marching against the Parthians, and that everything was now quiet on the Parthian frontier. The Senate distrusted the rumor, and sent messengers to make inquiry. Antony, in order to dissipate their fear and suspicion, proposed a decree that it should not be lawful for anybody, for any cause whatever, to vote for a dictatorship, or to accept it if offered. If anybody should disregard any of these provisions, he might be killed with impunity by anybody who should meet him.[1] Having deceived the Senate[2] chiefly by this means, and having agreed with the

[1] This action was much earlier in point of time than it is here represented. Cicero informs us that the law abolishing the dictatorship was proposed by Antony at the meeting of the Senate in the temple of Tellus immediately after the assassination. (*Phil.* i. 1.)

[2] ἑλὼν τοὺς ἀκούοντας: "having captured his hearers."

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710 friends of Dolabella to give him one legion, he was chosen 44
absolute commander of the forces in Macedonia. Having obtained what he desired, he sent his brother Gaius with haste to communicate the decree of the Senate to the army. Those who had been sent to inquire into the rumor came back and reported that they had seen no Getæ in Macedonia, but they added, either truthfully, or because they were instructed to do so by Antony, that it was feared that they would make an incursion into Macedonia if the army were withdrawn.

26. While these things were taking place at Rome, Cassius and Brutus were collecting troops and money, and Trebonius, who was governor of the province of Asia, was fortifying his towns for them. When Dolabella arrived, Trebonius would not admit him to Pergamus or Smyrna, but allowed him, as consul, to occupy a market-place outside the walls. When the latter attacked the walls with fury, but accomplished nothing, Trebonius said that he would be admitted to Ephesus. Dolabella started for Ephesus forthwith, and Trebonius sent a force to follow him at a certain distance. While these were observing Dolabella's march, they were overtaken by night, and, having no farther suspicions, returned to Smyrna, leaving a few of their number to follow him. Dolabella laid an ambush for this small number, captured and killed them, and went back the same night to Smyrna. Finding it unguarded, he took it by escalade. Trebonius, who was captured in bed, told his captors to lead the way to Dolabella, saying that he was willing to follow them. One of the centurions answered him facetiously, "Go where you please, but you must leave your head behind, for we are ordered to bring your head, not yourself." With these words the centurion immediately cut off his head, and early in the morning Dolabella ordered it to be displayed on the prætor's chair where Trebonius was accustomed to transact public business. Since Trebonius had participated in the murder of Cæsar by detaining Antony in conversation at the door of the senate-house while the others killed him, the soldiers and camp-followers fell upon the rest of his body with fury and treated it with every kind of indignity. They rolled his head from one to another in sport along the city pavements like a ball till

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710 it was completely crushed. This was the first of the murderers who was visited with such punishment.[1] 44

CHAPTER IV

Antony brings the Macedonian Army to Italy — Growing Rivalry between Antony and Octavius — The Military Tribunes intervene between them — Antony obtains Cisalpine Gaul from the People with Octavius' Help

27. Antony conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Cæsar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money lest he should be overpowered by Antony, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law, in the same manner that Cæsar had obtained it at a former time and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundusium; and the latter proceeded to do as he was directed.

[1] Cicero says that Dolabella approached Smyrna in the guise of friendship for Trebonius, and having got the latter in his power by treachery, "was not willing to put his captive to death at once, lest, as I think, he should seem to be too moderate in his victory. After heaping every kind of insult from his foul mouth on this excellent man he questioned him under the scourge and torture about the public money — did this for two days. After cutting his head from his shoulders he commanded that it be carried on a pike. The rest of his body was dragged about, mangled, and cast into the sea." (*Phil.* xi. 2.)

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710 28. This was the time for the games that the ædile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavius made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and crown, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Cæsar to be honored in this way at games given at his expense, Octavius brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavius was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony was angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavius himself, which had been instituted by his father in honor of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. It was evident that universal hatred of Antony had already grown out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Cæsar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one. Octavius himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them not to despise him, the victim of so many and so great outrages, nor willingly desert him, but to defend Cæsar, their commander and benefactor, dishonored by Antony; to defend him for their own sakes, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Cæsar unless the decrees passed in his honor should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere throughout the city, and especially from the high places that he came to, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Cæsar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. Heap indignities on me to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me." 44

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in severer

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710 threats against Octavius, and when they became known the 44
people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Cæsar, and who were then in the highest favor with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Cæsar and had obtained his present good fortune at Cæsar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavius himself, with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he had been compelled to change his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honor for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention if Octavius, also, would curb his presumption.

30. The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavius together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to have the tribunes of the people veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of intrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Cæsar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees[1] — throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate desired that the votes should be taken by centuries, but the Antonians, who had

[1] There is some confusion here. Cæsar did not subdue Cisalpine Gaul.

Y.R. 710 enclosed the forum with a rope during the night, demanded that the votes be taken by tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon.[1] Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless coöperated with him for the sake of Octavius, who stood alongside the rope and begged them to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father's murderers, might not have the government of a province so convenient, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason brought his army across the Adriatic. B.C. 44

Chapter V

Antony again opposes Octavius — The Tribunes intervene again — Antony replies to them

31. One of the tribunes of the people having died Octavius favored the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and, accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him for tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavius, either to curry favor with the Senate, or to appease its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as consul, that Octavius should not solicit votes

[1] This passage presents difficulties. In the first place, the reading of all the codices is that Antony wanted the votes to be taken by centuries and not by tribes, whereas that plan would have defeated him, since a law could not be brought before the *comitia centuriata* without the previous approval of the Senate. Moreover, the *comitia centuriata* were not held in the forum. Schweighäuser accordingly transposes the words "centuries" and "tribes," and this change is adopted in the Teubner text.

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710 contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use every means in his power against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavius, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavius, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file. 44

32. While Octavius was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: "We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Cæsar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favors them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Cæsar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Cæsar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such. Our enemies are starting up afresh. They have boldly seized Syria and Macedonia[1] and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Cæsar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Cæsar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, and for your own

[1] Combes-Dounous points out that Brutus and Cassius had not gone to Syria and Macedonia at this time. Brutus was in a ship at the mouth of the river Heles, three miles from the town of Velia in Lucania, as we learn from one of Cicero's letters (*Ad Att.* xvi. 7).

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710 interest even more than ours. Help Octavius as much as 44
you can, or at all events as much as may be needful, to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you."

33. To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: "What friendship and zeal I had for Cæsar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favors he showed me, what honors he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Cæsar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then, will believe that I have no care for Cæsar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Cæsar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

34. "When Cæsar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not the particulars of the conspiracy nor against whom it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with their gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Cæsar were declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it would not have been surprising if I had been at a loss what to do, you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done,

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710 because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the 44
voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Cæsar's party could be safe only in case Cæsar were not declared a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and the Senate itself, plunged in the same fear (lest, if Cæsar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight, for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What did I want and how important was it? That Cæsar's name should not be blotted out was the dearest wish of all to me, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honors previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honor instead of ignominy.

35. "Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain to actually spare the murderers for the sake of Cæsar's immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to gain time.[1] Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers were freed from anxiety, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Cæsar's body into the forum under pretence of burial, I laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them and his clothing all bloody and slashed by the knives. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain

[1] ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην, literally, "postponing their punishment."

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710 and invoking him as a god. These acts and words of mine 44 stirred up the people, kindled a fire in spite of the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city. How much the Senate was thwarted and grieved by this was presently shown when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply.[1] And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (as I had no military force of my own anywhere), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me. He had pretended to be in the conspiracy against Cæsar and he had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

36. "While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favored his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of the murderers, and so that the senators should be ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, as the war against the Parthians fell to the lot of the one governing Syria. But they would not have taken Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius unless other provinces had been obtained for them to ensure their safety. When it became necessary to make them a recompense, look at the *quid pro quo* that was given to them — Cyrene and Crete, devoid of troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as not sufficient for their safety; and they are now

[1] It has already been shown that this is inexact as to time.

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710 trying to seize by force those that were taken from them. 44 Thus in fact was the army transferred from our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem, by exchange; for when there was no way to gain our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have recourse to the laws.

37. "After these events our enemies had raised another army and it became needful for me to have the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pretext. A rumor gained currency that the Getæ were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved, and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I brought forward the decree about the dictatorship, providing that it should not be lawful to speak of it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were particularly taken with this proposal and they gave me the army. Then for the first time I considered myself on an equality with my enemies, not merely with the open ones [as Octavius thinks],[1] but with the more numerous and powerful ones who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, who governed a conveniently placed province with a large army, whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, have deprived of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia,[2] when it has lost its army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundusium so that I might use it in emergencies. And, with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

38. "Thus have we changed from the great fear that for-

[1] *ὡς οἴεται Καῖσαρ.* I have placed these words in brackets because they have no relevancy to the context. Nauck thinks they should be erased.

[2] *ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος ἀντιδώσειν.* These words are troublesome. The substitution of *ἐπί* for *ἔτι* was suggested by Musgrave, and this change has been followed in the translation.

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710 merly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where 44
we can boldly face our foes. When these facts became known the multitude showed their zeal against our enemies. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they have written to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country's gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valor, with which Cæsar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers of body and of mind.[1] While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light — excepting only Octavius, who behaves ungratefully toward us."[2]

Chapter VI

Octavius accused of attempting to assassinate Antony — He denies the Accusation — Octavius obtains Soldiers in Calatia and Casilinum — The Tribune Canutius sides with Octavius against Antony — Octavius declares his Readiness to fight Antony — Cæsar's Veterans refuse to fight against Antony

39. These words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity toward the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavius; and as both yielded they formed

[1] τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες, καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες, literally, "attacking with the body and helping with the mind." Nauck would erase the word βοηθοῦντες. It would certainly not be missed.

[2] That this speech was composed by Appian and put in the mouth of Antony there is little room to doubt. It contains errors as to dates and as to the order of events which Antony could not have made.

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710 a new alliance in the Capitol. Not long afterward Antony 44
announced to his friends that some of his body-guard had been tampered with by Octavius, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavius in his camp and thought they were actually plotting against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavius that Antony, even though he were unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony) was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavius suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul. Octavius ran with mad fury to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony that had conspired against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the doorkeepers who restrained him from having a dispute with Antony. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of

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710 Antony to increase his body-guard or to alienate the veterans 44
from Octavius.[1]

40. Presently news was brought to Octavius by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundusium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Cæsar, and that they would assist him (Octavius) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundusium. As Octavius feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been colonized in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner.[2] The

[1] Cicero refers in one of his letters to the attempt of Octavius to assassinate Antony. He says that the charge was considered by the populace a mere fiction on the part of Antony to serve as an excuse for seizing the young man's property, but that the better and more discerning citizens believed the report and highly approved of it; also that Antony was so generally detested that although he had caught the assassins in his house he dared not make the affair public. (*Ad Fam.* xii. 23.) Suetonius says: "At the instigation of some of his friends he (Octavius) hired assassins to kill him (Antony), but as the plot was discovered and he apprehended similar danger to himself, he drew over the veteran troops to his own service and that of the republic by as large a bribe as he could procure." (*Aug.* 10.) Suetonius makes this affair take place while Antony was besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina, whereas it must have been considerably earlier. Plutarch says merely that "a rumor prevailed that Octavius had formed a plot against Antony. (*Ant.* 16.)

[2] Cicero, who was, at this time, at or near Naples, gives an account of this mustering of forces by Octavius at Calatia and Casilinum in letters to Atticus (xvi. 8, 9). Cicero was thrown into trepidation by this movement and also by the approach of Antony, who was marching from Brundusium to Rome with one legion known as the Alaudæ (the Larks), that had been raised by Cæsar in Transalpine Gaul. He says that Octavius desired to have a secret interview with him at Capua or in the vicinity, which Cicero declined. Then Octavius sent a messenger to him who asked his advice whether he had best march to Rome with 3000 of his soldiers, or attempt to prevent Antony's approach, or go and meet the three legions from Macedonia which were marching northward along the Adriatic coast and which he believed would join him. Cicero advised him to go to Rome because he thought the common people would be on his side, and that if he could gain their support

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710 citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavius was advancing with another one some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavius against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavius was to wreak vengeance on the murderers in return therefor. 44

41. In this time of consternation Canutius, a tribune of the people and enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavius, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Canutius addressed the people, saying that Octavius was advancing with real hostility to Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavius as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavius, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Canutius addressed the people first, speaking against Antony. Octavius also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.[1]

the upper classes would join him also. Octavius answered that he would follow Cicero's advice and then urged him to come to Rome also, saying that he (Octavius) wished to act under the authority of the Senate. "I try to excuse myself," says Cicero. "I cannot trust his youth, I do not know his real intentions. . . . I am afraid of Antony's power and unwilling to leave the coast, and at the same time should be sorry to be absent in any crisis." He wants Atticus to advise him what to do. Velleius (ii. 61) mentions the enlistment of these veterans at Calatia and Casilinum.

[1] Velleius (ii. 64) says that both Cicero and Canutius suffered death for their defence of liberty; "that the proscription began with the blood of the tribune and ended with that of Cicero as though even Antony were now satisfied." On the other hand, Dion Cassius says that Canutius was captured by Octavius at Perusia and put to death nearly three years later (xlviii. 14). Appian confirms this (v. 49 *infra*).

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710 42. After he had thus spoken and the assembly had been 44 dissolved, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavius or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others spoke out the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavius was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all of the assembled multitude, gave them new presents, and said that he would reward them still more generously, for he made use of them for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, from 10,000 he influenced 1000 only to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavius, his compliance with their wishes, and the favors they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, like the fickle multitude, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavius had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighboring parts, enlisting new forces continually and sending them all to Arretium.

CHAPTER VII

Mutiny among Antony's Troops — He punishes them — Octavius excites Dissension in Antony's Army — Two of Antony's Legions desert to Octavius — Antony departs to Cisalpine Gaul — Octavius offers his Services to the Senate and they are accepted — Military Manœuvres of Octavius' Legions

43. In the meantime four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundusium. They blamed him

Y.R. 710 because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Cæsar. They conducted him without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavius) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. But he would find them out, he said. He would lead the army to the province voted to him, the fair Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the fomenters of the sedition (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking to strike terror into the rest by means of the few. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.[1] B.C. 44

44. In view of these facts the men whom Octavius had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflect-

[1] This execution of soldiers at Brundusium is mentioned by Cicero in the third Philippic (4), where he says that the number of soldiers put to death was 300. In the fifth Philippic (8) he gives a more particular account of the affair, saying: "What did his (Antony's) journey to Brundusium mean? Why such haste? What did he hope to do unless to lead a great army to the city, or rather into the city? Why that casting of lots by the centurions and that fierce outbreak of uncontrollable temper? When our bravest legions exclaimed against his promises, he commanded those centurions to come to his house whose strong attachment to the republic he was acquainted with, and there at his own feet, and at the feet of his wife, whom this austere general took with him to the army, he caused them to be killed." These soldiers were clearly mutineers, and Antony did not exceed his authority in punishing them; but mutiny and "going over to the enemy" were so common at that time that each man measured the turpitude of the act by its bearings on his own party.

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710 ing on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Cæsar and urging them to share the service of the younger one and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavius was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. "Let us lay aside ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but rather the salutation of our first meeting than a full reward, but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair[1] as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army. Whether moved by penitence or by fear they took what was given them. Antony, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes. The remainder he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum. 44

45. Antony chose from the whole number a prætorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms,[2] and he gave them a countersign and relieved them

[1] ἐς τάδε αὐτῷ: words not translatable. Mendelssohn suggests ἐς τόδε αὐτὸ.

[2] In the fifth Philippic (6), which was delivered on the first of January, Cicero refers to this irruption of armed men in indignant terms:

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710 regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in 44
order to make complaint of the acts of Octavius, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavius. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian and espoused the side of Octavius. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba,[1] in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur,[2] taking the apparatus customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honor.[3] These persons,

"Will it not be advertised with the deepest shame, and by the records of our order, to the memory of posterity, that since the foundation of the city Antony alone had himself surrounded by armed men within its walls — something that neither the kings, nor those who sought to exercise royal power after their expulsion, ever did? I can remember Cinna; I have seen Sulla and lately Cæsar. These three men have been more powerful than the whole republic at any time since the commonwealth was made free by Lucius Brutus. I cannot affirm that their satellites were without arms, but I can say that if they had any they were few and concealed, but a whole troop of armed men followed this wretch." It detracts somewhat from the force of these words that for want of an armed guard Cæsar was murdered only a few months before, in the presence of the very men to whom Cicero was speaking, and that Cicero applauded the act.

[1] Alba was only fifteen miles from Rome. The Martian legion had halted here and revolted from Antony. (Cicero, *Phil.* iii. 3.)

[2] The modern Tivoli.

[3] In the thirteenth Philippic (9) Cicero refers to this meeting as "that pestilent assemblage at Tibur," but he makes it take place before the revolt of the two legions. In the fifth Philippic (9) he says that when Antony heard of the revolt of the legions "just after he had convoked the Senate, and procured a man of consular rank to propose that Octavius be declared a public enemy, he immediately fainted

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710 arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavius' public meeting. With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There were also some discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony. 44

47. Octavius had two legions equally efficient, which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies and two of discharged veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavius nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.[1]

48. The soldiers of Octavius furnished him lictors pro-

away." This is doubtful. Antony was not one of the fainting kind, but Cicero was prone to exaggeration.

[1] The new consuls were Hirtius and Pansa. They had been designated in advance by Cæsar and succeeded to the office by virtue of the decree of the Senate confirming all of Cæsar's acts.

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710 vided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of propraetor, carrying on war and leading themselves, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honor, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they wanted to go before the Senate *en masse* he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; "and would do this all the more," he said, "if they know of your zeal and my hesitation." They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavius was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavius bind these mercenaries to himself. Such was the course of events in Italy. 44

Chapter VIII

Antony orders Decimus Brutus to withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul — Decimus retires to Mutina and Antony besieges him there — Cicero urges that Antony be declared a Public Enemy — The Tribune Salvius interposes in Favor of Antony — Debate in the Senate — Cicero's Speech — Piso speaks in Defence of Antony — The Senate orders Antony to desist from the Siege of Mutina — Antony's Reply — The Senate votes him a Public Enemy — Macedonia voted to Brutus and Syria to Cassius

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710 49. In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus 44 to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own good. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest he (Antony) should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing lest none of them should be opened to him, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, welcomed by all as he passed along, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina.[1] Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and he awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina, and laid siege to Decimus.

711 50. In Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the 43 consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the

[1] The modern Modena.

Y.R. 711 subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Cæsar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was befitting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interests in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day; for among the magistrates the one who has the veto power always prevails. B.C. 43

51. The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults[1] on Salvius for this, and sallied out among the plebeians to excite them against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should change the people around by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since

[1] ὠνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον: "heaped reproaches and insults." The first three of these words are not in any printed text except that of Mendelssohn, who finds them in the Vatican codex.

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711 they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry 43
with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously needed the help of Octavius against him. Although Octavius knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavius to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he had promised to give them if they should be victorious. After passing these decrees they adjourned, thinking that Antony would in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and believing, also, that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows: —

52. "What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday. When we bestowed honors on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present

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711 circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than in himself, in the prætors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who have condemned Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder. At Cæsar's death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers with his own secret motives he asked from us, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundusium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundusium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Cæsar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Cæsar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, just as Cæsar found it when he made himself our master. 43

53. "In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh when they had not been regularly condemned but chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. Those who could not desert joined him in wrong-doing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you sent letters directing him to hold the province. Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are

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711 we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war 43 against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy as soon as the latter becomes more powerful than we are."[1]

54. Scarcely had Cicero finished speaking when his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said: "Our law, Conscript Fathers, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Cæsar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Cæsar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud. So much for the charge in reference to money.

55. "We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony. The people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously

[1] The fifth Philippic of Cicero was delivered in the Senate on the first day of January, 711, and the sixth to a popular assembly on the fourth day of the same month. They bear only slight resemblance to this speech, but are fierce invectives against Antony.

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711 been given to Cæsar. It was a part of this law that, when 43
Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is bearing arms against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting in accordance with law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them.[1] He ought not to intrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to intrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader.

56. "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes

[1] This is absurd and impossible. The Epitome of Livy (cxvii.) says that the law for the exchange of provinces was passed by Antony by violence. It was probably among those mentioned by Cicero in the fifth Philippic (3 and 4) as passed under military compulsion and in violation of the auspices. Not only was a tremendous thunder-storm raging "so that Jove himself seemed to be prohibiting it by clamor from the skies," but the approaches to the forum were so fenced in "that it would have been impossible to gain entrance without tearing down the barricade even if no armed soldiers had stood in the way."

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711 him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was — which legions you had voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavius. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Cæsar's death, come, let me examine his acts one by one. 43

57. "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial — he who is now in danger of being condemned unheard? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, O Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public moneys? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompey, the son of your Pompey, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded? And because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate. Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by any one who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months, the only months that he remained in the city after Cæsar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had? But it is said that he was not in a condition to do

Y.R. 711 otherwise.[1] How? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed for Syria? Did he not have an armed force in readiness in the city, one that you gave him? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Cæsar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? None of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them. Ye behold then, O Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony. B.C. 43

58. "Since, in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavius had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without authority is not considered an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavius' 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate weeping and fearful, not on account of what Antony has done, but on account of the overwhelming power of his enemies.

59. "These facts furnish you an example of Antony's

[1] ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἐναντία οὐκ ἦρχε, an obscure sentence. Combes-Dounous suggested ἤρκει in place of ἦρχε, a change approved by Bekker and Mendelssohn.

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711 defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city to ward off danger before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavius to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favor of no man. 43

60. "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages, who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Cæsar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in fact. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Cæsar's murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to be more than ever careful in view of the public dangers."[1]

[1] Piso was the father of Cæsar's wife, Calpurnia. It is very doubtful whether this speech, or any other in defence of Antony, was made by him. Cicero tells us in the first Philippic (4, 6, and 7) that Piso made

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711 61. Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavius in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavius and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith, relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself.[1] The remains 43

a strong speech on the first of August on the republican side. In a letter to Cassius (*Ad Fam.* xii. 2) he says that Piso is one of three senators whose blood Antony is seeking, the other two being P. Servilius and Cicero himself. It must be said, however, that Piso was capable of changing at any moment, for a blacker character never was painted than that which Cicero gives him in his Orations *De Provinciis Consularibus* and *In Pisonem*. Dion Cassius (xlvi. 1–28) says that Quintus Fufius Calenus took the lead in defending Antony in this debate. In the eighth Philippic (4–6) Cicero addresses himself to Fufius and answers arguments which the latter had made in favor of Antony in some debate. At an earlier period Fufius had been tribune and had fixed the jury which acquitted Clodius when he was tried for profaning the mysteries of the Bona Dea.

[1] The statement that Cicero falsified the message of the Senate to Antony is untrue. Cicero was vehemently opposed to sending ambassadors to Antony and in favor of an immediate declaration of war and the levying of troops against him. The terms of the message adopted by the Senate and sent by a special embassy are given in the sixth Philippic (2–3). They are in substance the same as those quoted above. Antony was ordered to recross the Rubicon, but not to come within 200 miles of Rome.

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711 of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the in- 43
dignities visited upon them more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy.

62. The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Cæsar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Cæsar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Cæsar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Cæsar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favors a man who took the province of Gaul after Cæsar's death without authority,[1] and makes war on one who received it at the hands of the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two respectable men. He holds Antony and Dolabella as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor monarch! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied."

63. After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he would make the following answer: "The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit punishment for the murder upon

[1] παρ' οὐδενὸς: "at the hands of nobody." In Secs. 49 and 50 we are told that Decimus held the province by the authority of the Senate, and in Sec. 124, Bk. I, that he had been designated as governor of the province by Cæsar himself, all of whose acts were subsequently, on Antony's motion, confirmed by the Senate.

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711 him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero's support of Decimus, may at last be purged of the shocking crime." These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply.[1] The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be reëstablished. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius.[2] He also had war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Cæsar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things. 43

[1] Antony's reply is quoted with a running comment in the eighth Philippic (8–9). It was a counter-proposition demanding money and lands for his troops; requiring that the edicts of himself and Dolabella relative to Cæsar's writings and note-books should not be questioned; that there should be no inquiry into the disposition made of the money left by Cæsar in the temple of Ops; that he (Antony) should have the province of Transalpine Gaul with six legions (to be filled up from the forces under command of Decimus) for at least five years, and as long as Marcus Brutus and Cassius should retain their provinces.

[2] Apuleius was the quæstor of Asia. Plutarch, who gives him the name of Antistius, says that he was bringing some ships laden with money to Rome and that Brutus met him near Carystus (at the southern end of Eubœa) and persuaded him to deliver the ships and contents to himself, and that the amount of money was 500,000 drachmas. Plutarch mentions also the store of arms at Demetrias, accumulated by Cæsar for the Parthian expedition. (*Life of Brutus*, 24–25.)

Chapter IX

Octavius alarmed by the Action of the Senate — Octavius, Hirtius, and Pansa march to the Relief of Decimus — Activity of Cicero in Rome — Battle between Antony and the Consul Pansa — Pansa wounded and his Men retire to their Camp — Hirtius comes to the Rescue and defeats Antony

Y.R. 64. Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity B.C.
711 to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant 43
aspect. When Octavius learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely;[1] finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea — all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling down of that of Cæsar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of propraetor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a propraetor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

[1] Cyrenaica and Crete; see Sec. 8. In the eleventh Philippic (12) Cicero praises Brutus for anticipating the desires of the Senate and not going to his own province of Crete, but flying to Macedonia, although it had been assigned to another. It had been assigned to Gaius Antonius.

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711 65. Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honors of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings." In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavius, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavius yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius and Octavius advanced toward Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers. 43

66. Such was the course of events around Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the artificers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Cæsar and was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Cæsar's colonies, where he was well known, and raised two legions for Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his

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711 course toward Antony, but being intercepted by Octavius 43
and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen.[1] When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavius and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavius' prætorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through a defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow.

67. Carsuleius and Pansa passed through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the bushes, then a gleaming of shields and helmets, and Antony's prætorian cohort suddenly showed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The prætorians of Octavius confronted the prætorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the prætorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundusium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army they hoped

[1] This tale, in so far as it relates to Cicero, must be entirely fictitious, since nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Philippics, although Ventidius is mentioned twice after his supposed march upon Rome to arrest Cicero.

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711 to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The 43
one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two.

68. Thus urged on rather by their own animosity and ambition than by their generals they assailed each other, considering this their own affair. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging in marshes and ditches, they stood together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience had made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

69. All put forth superhuman exertions, and the prætorians of Octavius perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the abdomen by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterward they turned and took refuge in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quæstor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies dashed into it confusedly although they were Italians, the same as the Martians, so much more than race does training contribute to bravery. The Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but

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711 ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were 43
still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from the attack as a bad job, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

70. When Hirtius near Mutina heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valor; but being wearied by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the greater part of them were slain in this encounter by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses, wounded men, and half-dead men. Some were unhurt but were overcome by fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he had with him, went to their assistance and collected them through the entire night. Some they put on horseback in their own places, others they took on the horses with themselves, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's forces, after he had fought splendidly, scattered by the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without entrenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum Gallorum.[1] Antony and Pansa each lost about one-half of their men. The whole of Octavius' prætorian cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight.[2]

[1] The modern Castel Franco.

[2] A letter is preserved in the correspondence of Cicero giving an account of this battle by Servius Galba, who usually commanded the Martian legion, and who actually commanded eight cohorts of it in this fight. He had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in the Gallic war (*B. G.* iii. 1–6), but had joined the conspirators because Cæsar had rejected his claims to the consulship. He was great-grandfather of the Emperor Galba (Suetonius, *Galba*, 3). In his letter he says that he was sent 100 miles by Hirtius with the Martian legion and two præto-

Chapter X

Octavius and Hirtius defeat Antony at Mutina — Death of Hirtius — Antony flees to the Alps — Decimus seeks an Interview with Octavius — A Thanksgiving at Rome for the Victory over Antony — Death of the Consul Pansa

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711 71. The next day they all withdrew to the camps at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony decided not to come to a general engagement with his enemies at present, not even if they should attack him, but merely to harass them daily with his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to extremity by famine, should surrender. For this very reason Hirtius and Octavius decided to push on a fight. As Antony would not come out when they offered battle, they moved toward the other side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged on account of the badness of the ground, as if about to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony followed their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. As the enemy fought him with their cavalry only, moving the rest of their army in whatever way they chose, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies rejoiced at this, turned and delivered 43

rian conorts to meet Pansa, who was advancing with four legions of newly raised soldiers. As they approached Forum Gallorum on their return, they passed a forest and a marsh and then met a detachment of Antony's horse and light-armed troops. When these were seen the Martian legion and the two cohorts of veterans could not be restrained from attacking, wherefore it became necessary to support them. Antony had posted two veteran legions and two prætorian cohorts in Forum Gallorum in concealment. These he drew out and attacked the Martians. Pansa ordered up two of his new legions and a furious battle ensued. Galba saw Antony personally taking part in it. Pansa's men were gradually forced back to their camp, in which they took refuge. Antony attacked the camp but was repulsed. As soon as Hirtius heard that a battle was in progress he started with twenty cohorts of veterans, met Antony as he was returning, attacked and totally routed him on the very ground where the first battle had been fought, taking two eagles and sixty standards. The letter is dated April 20. It says that the battle took place on the 15th. (*Ad Fam.* x. 30.) In the fourteenth Philippic (14) Cicero says that Hirtius did not lose a man in the second engagement.

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711 battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, 43 but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavius won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavius rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night under arms.[1]

72. When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; that he (Antony) was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must soon succumb. Such was the advise of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, now misled by a god, was fearful lest Octavius should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him (Antony), as Octavius had the greater force of laborers, "in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with us." So he spoke, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps.[2]

[1] This battle was fought on the 27th. While it was in progress Decimus made a sortie from Mutina and completed the victory. This is mentioned in a letter of Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xi. 14). Also in a letter from Marcus Brutus to Cicero (*Ad Brutum*, 4). Antony fled from the field toward the Alps with a very small force of infantry and those without arms, but by opening the workhouses and impressing all sorts of people on the road, he collected a considerable number of men. So Decimus Brutus reported to Cicero, May 5. (*Ad Fam.* xi. 10.)

[2] It is plain from what has gone before that Antony aimed at the supreme power which Cæsar had held, and that Octavius was, in his eyes, an impertinence and an inconvenience. It is evident also that Octavius aimed not to destroy Antony, but to cripple and humble him, and so convince him that he (Octavius) was a person to be reckoned with. A perception of this truth was forced upon Antony before he

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711 73. When Decimus was delivered from the siege he 43
began to be afraid of Octavius, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavius in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavius would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavius, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and led him into the conspiracy against Cæsar with the others. Octavius answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms sometime, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavius by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavius to cross the river without consular authority, into the government belonging to another, and not to follow Antony further, because he (Decimus) would suffice for the pursuit of the latter. Octavius knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.[1]

was dislodged from Mutina, for he wrote a letter to Hirtius and Octavius appealing to them as Cæsarians, and pretending that he was solely concerned in taking vengeance on Decimus as one of the murderers. Hirtius sent it to Cicero, who read it, with a running comment, in the Senate (*Phil.* xiii. 10–21). It shows that Antony was not destitute of literary ability. A translation of it will be found in the appendix to Book III.

[1] From the letters of Decimus Brutus to Cicero, we learn that this entire section 73 is at variance with the facts. Immediately after Antony's flight Decimus urged Octavius to cross the Apennines, in order to intercept Ventidius, who was leading three legions to Antony's assistance, in which case, he says, "I should have driven Antony to such straits that he would have succumbed to want rather than the sword. But I cannot command Octavius, nor can he command his

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711 74. In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavius. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days,— a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavius in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to fight Antony when he should draw near them. Such was the course of events at Rome.[1] 43

75. In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he summoned Octavius to his side, and said: "I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death,

own army, which is doubly unfortunate." (*Ad Fam.* xi. 10.) In another letter written from Pollentia, Decimus gives an account in detail of his movements after Antony's flight. "I was not able to pursue immediately," he says, "because I had neither cavalry nor pack animals. I did not know that Hirtius was dead. I could not trust Octavius, until I had met and conversed with him. So that day passed. Early the next day I was summoned by Pansa to Bononia. While I was on the road thither news was brought to me that he was dead. So I returned to my little band, for so I can truly call it, reduced as it is to extremity by the want of everything. Thus Antony got two days the start of me." (*Ad Fam.* xi. 13.)

[1] The decree of the Senate here referred to was passed after the first victory over Antony, and while both consuls were still alive. It forms the conclusion of the fourteenth and last Philippic. It awarded praise in equal measure to Pansa, to Hirtius, and to Octavius; it provided for a thanksgiving of fifty days, and for paying to the soldiers who had been engaged, or their surviving relatives, all the rewards previously promised them, and for the erection of a magnificent monument to the memory of those who fell in the battle.

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711 nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have 43 also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he seemed to be the one most ambitious to fill the rôle of Cæsar, and they were delighted with your dissensions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honors. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honors than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Cæsar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.

76. "Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Cæsar's friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Cæsar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quæstor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he transferred the new levies to the quæstor and expired. The quæstor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavius sent the

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711 bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honors to Rome, where 43
they received a public funeral.[1]

Chapter XI

Cassius raises an Army — State of Affairs in Syria — Brutus captures Gaius Antonius in Macedonia — Octavius makes Approaches toward Reconciliation with Antony — He communicates with Lepidus and Asinius Pollio — Octavius applies for the Consulship — Asks Cicero to be his Colleague

77. The following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Cæsar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Cæcilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Cæsar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once

[1] This is one of the rare cases in ancient history where it is possible to prove a negative. The letter of Decimus Brutus to Cicero from Pollentia, already referred to, disposes of all the time between the death of Hirtius and that of Pansa, so that no such interview as this could possibly have taken place. Hirtius was killed in the last engagement, the one in which Antony was put to flight. The next day Decimus had a meeting and conversation with Octavius at Mutina. Early on the following day he was summoned to Bononia to confer with Pansa, and while on the road thither received news of his death. Moreover, all that we know of the character of Pansa contradicts this tale of treachery. Pansa was a Cæsarian, but he was not false to the cause he publicly served. The simultaneous deaths of Hirtius and Pansa put so much power in the hands of Octavius that a story became current that he had killed the former with his own hand, and had bribed the physician of the latter to poison his wound. The physician was a Greek named Glyco. He was arrested and put in prison. There is a letter from Marcus Brutus to Cicero, complaining bitterly of the injustice done to Glyco, who, it appears, had married a sister of one of Brutus' Greek friends named Achilleus. "The accusation," says Brutus, "has not the least foundation. Who has suffered more than he from Pansa's death? Moreover, he is a man of sobriety and character, whom not even self-interest could impel to such a crime. I ask you, I ardently beseech you (for our Achilleus is deeply pained) to have him released from custody, and take care of him." (*Ad Brutum*, 6.) Combes-Dounous thinks that the story of the death-bed interview with Pansa may have been invented during the reign of Augustus, to avert the suspicion of foul play against Pansa.

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711 when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and sometime later, when he called Bassus to him and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and stabbed Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Cæsar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo[1] says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Cæsar sent Statius Marcus against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Marcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions. 43

78. While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Cæsar. Cassius surrounded him unawares in Palestine and compelled him to surrender, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news.

[1] Λίβωνι; as there is no historian known of the name of Libo, except one of much earlier date, most critics have concluded that this is a copyist's error for Λιβίῳ (Livy). Mendelssohn does not concur in this view. He does not believe that a single particle of Appian can have been derived from Livy.

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711 79. In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow-citizens, and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honor by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death.[1] Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valor of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom he drilled in the Italian discipline. 43

80. Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavius, although he considered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honors of a triumph for his exploits. Being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honors beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired a reconciliation with Antony, as Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him.[2] Accordingly, he began to make friends of those of Antony's army who had been taken prisoners, both officers and sol-

[1] Plutarch mentions the attempt to corrupt the soldiers, but says that Gaius was put to death by Brutus in retaliation for the killing of Cicero and Decimus Brutus by Antony (*Life of Brutus*, 28).

[2] As soon as Antony was defeated and driven to the Alps the Senate supposed that it had no further need of Octavius. Cicero, who was the first wit, as well as the greatest orator of the age, indulged in an unseasonable jest about this time. The first account we have of it is in a letter from Decimus Brutus to Cicero, dated Eporedia, May 23. "My affection and duty to you," he says, "compel me to feel for you what I never feel for myself, namely, fear. It is about a saying that I have

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711 diers. He enrolled them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony he allowed them to do so, in order to show that he was not moved by implacable hatred against him. When he was encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he inspired the latter with fear, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity to join himself or to go on safely with his army to Antony, and told him to chide the latter for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Octavius also allowed Decius, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, and had been treated with honor, to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius tried to find out what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that more would be insufficient for fools. 43

81. After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavius wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest in consequence of the favor extended to the Pompeian faction, each of the Cæsarians should, one by one, share the fate of Antony, although he was suffering the consequences of his own folly and arrogance.[1] He advised that, for the sake of appear-

heard several times, and have at no time made light of, and very lately from Labeo Segulius (so very like himself), who tells me that he was with Octavius, and they were having much conversation about you. Octavius himself did not make any complaint of you, except as to a phrase that he said you had uttered, namely, '*laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.*'" The force of this *bon mot* is found in the last word, which has a double meaning, so that the sentence may read: "The young man should be praised, honored, and extolled," or "The young man should be praised, honored, and taken off." Decimus continued, "Octavius said that he should not furnish any opportunity for his taking off." He added that very likely Segulius himself had reported this saying to Octavius, or even that he had invented the whole thing himself (*Ad Fam.* xi. 20). We have Cicero's reply to this letter. "May the gods confound Segulius," he says, "for the basest creature of all who live, or have lived, or shall live," but he does not deny that he made use of the phrase (*Ad Fam.* xi. 21).

[1] *κἀκείνῳ δι' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι*, a sentence rendered obscure by the introduction of the words *τοῦδε τοῦ δέους*. Nauck thinks that the whole sentence is spurious.

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711 ances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should 43
confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred to unite their strength by settling together on ground that belonged not to them in groups, rather than enjoy their own homesteads singly. These things Octavius wrote to Lepidus and Asinius.[1] The first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would pursue and capture Antony immediately.[2]

[1] That Octavius was serving his own interest, and not that of the republic, was perceived by Plancus, who wrote to Cicero as follows: "You know, my dear Cicero, that I share your affection for Octavius. Because of my intimacy with Cæsar when he was alive, I was under the necessity of defending and loving Octavius, and for the further reason that, as far as I could discover, he was himself a young man of most moderate and humane sentiments. Considering the distinguished friendship that existed between Cæsar and myself, it would have been base in me not to hold him in the place of a son, when he had been adopted as such by Cæsar, and confirmed by the judgment of the Senate. Now, what I write to you I swear that I write more in sorrow than in anger. That Antony is alive to-day, that Lepidus has joined him, that they have an army not to be despised, that they have hope and courage, are due wholly to Octavius. Not to go farther back, if he had been willing to join me at the time he said he would, either the war would now be ended, or it would be pushed into Spain, which is most hostile to them, to their great disadvantage." (*Ad Fam.* x. 24.) This letter is dated July 28.

[2] *ναυτικῶν περ ἤδη γεγονότων*; literally "whose naval arrangements were already made." This is so incongruous with historical facts that most commentators have substituted some other word for *ναυτικῶν*. Schweighäuser suggested *ναστίκον* (hard pressed), but he left a blank at this place in the Latin version. Combes-Dounous adds the word *αὖτῳ*, and renders the passage that Antony had made preparations for flight by water. Tyrwhitt (as we learn from the preface to the Didot edition) conceived that the right words were *αὐτίκα. ὧνπερ ἤδη γεγονότων, οἵ τε Πομπηϊανοί*, etc., the last six words being transferred to the beginning of Sec. 82. Thus the rendering would be: "Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would pursue and capture Antony immediately. When the Pompeians learned what had happened," etc., a rational explanation.

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711 82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened 43
(and an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party), they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained, and they each offered sacrifices. Decemvirs were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Cæsar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Cæsar's memoranda.[1] The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext for annulling a part of the measures it should be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything from Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa. But Octavius also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he (Octavius) would enjoy the title only, by which means he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, for which reason he had previously asked the honor of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a hostile attitude. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interest of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague as a firm check upon the immaturity of Octavius. The Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the conspirators especially opposed him, fearing lest Octavius, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment."[2]

[1] This is very far from the truth. Appian's partiality for Antony is equal to all emergencies.

[2] Plutarch says that "Octavius sent friends to Cicero to beg and

CHAPTER XII

Antony encamps near Lepidus — They unite their Forces and Ventidius joins Antony — Consternation at Rome — Increasing Coolness between Octavius and the Senate — Octavius sends Soldiers to the Senate to demand the Consulship — He marches toward Rome with his Army

Y.R. 711 83. For various reasons the election was postponed in accordance with the law. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where the latter was encamped. He neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going back and forth between them constantly, Antony reminding B.C. 43

persuade him to obtain the consulship for both of them, saying that he (Cicero) might conduct the business in whatever way he chose after entering upon the office, and might govern him, as he was a young man solicitous only for the name and the honor. Octavius himself acknowledges that, as he was fearful of being ruined and in danger of being deserted, he made use of Cicero's desire for office by persuading him to seek the consulship in coöperation with himself, and to assist him in the canvass. Thereupon Cicero, although now an old man, was allured by the young man and cheated by him, for he aided Octavius in this canvass for the consulship, and brought the Senate over to his side; but being presently blamed by his friends, he perceived a little later that he was undone, and that he had betrayed the liberty of the people." (*Life of Cicero*, 45 and 46.) It seems that Plutarch drew his information, either directly or indirectly, from the memoirs of Octavius, which were extant in his time. It is probable that Appian drew from the same source, as he refers to it in his Illyrian history, Sec. 14. Both Dr. Middleton and Mr. Strachan-Davidson, in their respective biographies of Cicero, doubt this tale, and I agree with them. Yet its truth might be conceded without discredit to Cicero. That he was hoodwinked disastrously by Octavius is well known. In the fifth Philippic (18) he had pledged himself to the Senate in the most fervent terms for the fidelity of Octavius to the republic, and he might well have reasoned that the latter would allow him to guide the republic, whose fate was then trembling in the balance. The death of the two consuls had left Rome at the mercy of half a dozen commanders in the field, who could not be controlled by the Senate. Under such circumstances Cicero might have grasped at the consulship in conjunction with Octavius, without the motive of personal ambition. But the whole story is incongruous with known facts. The Epitome of Livy makes no mention of it.

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711 Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, 43
and showing him that after he (Antony) should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Cæsar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one. Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so voluntarily. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going back and forth, and being gratified with the simple manners prevailing in Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, like fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers, disregarding the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The so-called Tenth Legion, that had been enlisted by Antony originally, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

84. When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this he warned Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on certain errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some quæstors who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. The latter came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army was now escorting Antony, and they besought Lepidus for peace and compassion to their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them undressed, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he fell on his knees before Antony, being an inexperienced and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony and nothing to cause fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man and most formidable to his enemies. He had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry. Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions. Lepidus had become his ally with seven

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711 legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary 43
troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed everything.

85. When these facts became known at Rome a wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavius and Antony should form an alliance, sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, secretly to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and who favored the senatorial party. Although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Cæsar, and although they suspected everything of his, yet the want of other forces compelled them to take this course. Most awkwardly, too, they reappointed the young Octavius as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

86. Octavius excited the army to anger against the Senate on account of its repeated indignities toward himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavius and said that it would make answer by its own legates. It sent the latter, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavius was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the legates it forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did

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711 not add Octavius as the eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavius, the legates returned leaving the business unfinished. Octavius no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Cæsar, one by one. He admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and sent to one war after another for the purpose of being killed or arrayed in opposition to each other. This was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition in the army. 43

87. "You know," he said, "the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Cæsar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety while the relatives of the murderers dominate the Senate? I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is beautiful to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from ambition from the time when I declined the prætorship that you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us, and that is that I obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all of my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and after bringing the murderers to punishment I will release you from any more wars."

88. At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavius. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden time Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of

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711 each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Cæsar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age.[1] While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that army officers should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and elevate him to the consulship because he was Cæsar's son. At the same time they extolled the elder Cæsar without stint. When Octavius saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly toward the city, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy, — the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war, — he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate was sending as a present to the soldiers, Octavius feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money. 43

Chapter XIII

Alarm in the City — Mutual Criminations in the Senate — Vacillating Counsels — The Senate resolves to resist — Octavius arrives at the City Gates — The New Legions go over to him — Cicero departs from the City — Octavius is elected Consul with Pedius as his Colleague — His Adoption by Cæsar ratified by the People

89. When the news of Octavius' approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran

[1] This is erroneous. Cæsar was first elected consul in the year 694 (B.C. 60), and entered upon the office at the beginning of 695, at which time he had just reached the legal age of forty-three.

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711 hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and 43
children and whatever they held most dear to the fields and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since it had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some were blamed because they had wrongfully deprived him of the command of the campaign against Antony, others because they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honor of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten. Still others said that the army had become hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially because of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavius. Thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long taken the lead, was nowhere to be seen.[1]

[1] In the month of July Cicero wrote a despairing letter to Brutus acquainting him with the demand made by Octavius for the consulship. "Octavius," he says, "who has hitherto been governed by my counsels and who has shown a most excellent disposition and an admirable firmness, has been pushed on by certain persons by most wicked letters and lying reports and messages to an absolutely certain hope of the consulship. As soon as I learned this I ceased not to admonish him by letters while absent, and to accuse his friends who are present, and who seem to support his claims, nor did I hesitate to expose in the Senate the source of these most wretched designs. Nor do I remember any affair in which the Senate or the magistrates have shown a better spirit. For it has never before happened when it was a question of conferring an extraordinary honor on a powerful man, or rather an all-powerful man (since power now resides in force and arms), that no one, whether tribune of the people or other magistrate or even a private person, would lift his voice in favor of it. Yet in the midst of this firmness and virtue the city was in a state of anxiety. We are made sport of, Brutus, by the whims of the soldiers and the insolence of the general. Each one demands as much power in the republic as he has the force to extort. Reason, moderation, law, custom, duty, count for

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711 90. There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead 43
of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given. Instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavius was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. It felt that it ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as far as possible and oppose the laws to the invaders, for there was some hope that, if the laws were opposed to them, not even they would bear arms against their country. If they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the Romans of old, who never yielded anything prejudicial to their liberty.

91. As the two legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbor on the same day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all of the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind, — all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the so-called hill of Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city prætors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbor, together with money, in order to escape by sea in case they should be vanquished. While courageously mak-

nothing, nor is regard for the opinion of citizens, or shame for that of posterity, of any avail. It was because I foresaw all this long ago that I fled from Italy, at the time when the report of your proclamation recalled me." (*Ad Brutum*, 10.)

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711 ing these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavius 43
in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves to the last extremity. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. When they sought for the mother and sister of Octavius, and did not discover them either in any open or secret abode, they were again alarmed at finding themselves deprived of such important hostages, and as the Cæsarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that these women had been carefully concealed by them.

92. While Octavius was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavius hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him. The common people ran also and admired the good order of the soldiers, which they considered a sign of peace. On the following day Octavius advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savored of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself. The others allied themselves with Octavius. When Cicero learned this he sought an interview with Octavius through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavius for the consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavius answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

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711 93. The next night a rumor gained currency that two of Octavius' legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, because they had been led against their country by deception. The prætors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavius' army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter. 43

94. Octavius laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the prætors, not even Crassus who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave. He pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and that the amount that had been previously ordered to be paid on the motion of Cicero be distributed; that is, he divided 2500 drachmas per man and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected, together with Quintus Pedius, whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Cæsar, he entered the city as consul. He offered the usual sacrifices, and twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*, — that is, by a popular vote, — for the parts into which the tribes, or the common people, are divided are called *curiæ*, just as I suppose the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriæ*. Among the Romans this was the method of

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711 adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Cæsar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavius wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Cæsar's will.[1] 43

CHAPTER XIV

Indictment and Trial of Cæsar's Murderers — The Senate rescinds its Decrees against Antony and Lepidus — Flight of Decimus Brutus — He is captured and put to Death

95. He caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Cæsar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of Cæsar bringing accusations against some for actual participation in the crime and against others as having guilty knowledge only. Several were indicted, and among them some who were not in the city when Cæsar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default while Octavius was overlooking the court. None of the judges voted for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but was included with others in the proscription a little later. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city prætor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavius for the

[1] Suetonius says that Octavius obtained his first consulship in the month Sextilis and that he gave it his own name (August) in commemoration of the event (*Aug.* 31). Velleius says that he entered upon his consulship on the 22d of September and that this was the day before he became twenty years of age (ii. 65). The Epitome of Livy (cxix) says: "The Senate showed little gratitude to Octavius, the only survivor of the three leaders at Mutina. The honor of a triumph was decreed to Decimus Brutus, who was delivered from the siege of Mutina by Octavius. They did not make sufficiently grateful mention of Octavius and his soldiers, for which reason, after a reconciliation had been effected by him with Antony through Marcus Lepidus, he came to Rome with his army, struck terror into those who had treated him unjustly, and was created consul when he was nineteen years of age."

Y.R. 711 command of Africa, and, being thus brought into his presence, attempted to take his life. His colleagues stripped him of his prætorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavius ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.[1] B.C. 43

96. These things accomplished, Octavius formed plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavius had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. They foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavius against Brutus and Cassius. Nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature were sent to them. Thereupon Octavius wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself take vengeance on Decimus for Cæsar's account and on Plancus[2]

[1] Suetonius gives us two different accounts of this affair of Quintus Gallius. One of these says that "Gallius, while paying his respects to Octavius, had a pair of tablets hidden under his garments. Octavius suspected him of concealing a sword, but did not search him lest he should find that it was something else but caused him presently to be dragged away by centurions and soldiers, and subjected to torture like a slave; and as he confessed nothing, ordered him to be put to death after digging out his eyes with his own hands." The other account, which Suetonius says was written by Octavius himself, agrees substantially with that of Appian (*Aug.* 27).

[2] The movements of Plancus are minutely described in his numerous letters to Cicero. Although a Cæsarian, he intended to remain faithful to the republic and would probably have done so had not the supremacy acquired by Octavius at Rome and the reconciliation of the latter with Antony made his military position untenable.

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711 for his own, and that then he would join forces with 43
Octavius.

97. Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which the latter passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled. The other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labors. As he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by the higher Alps, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. Since Cæsar had travelled by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one — to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavius. After them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own homes, and, after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by all the others except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.[1]

98. Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camillus, a man to whom he had done many favors. So he told them to bring him to Camillus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him, for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance;

[1] Appian's geography is much in need of amendment. It is impossible to trace the route taken by Decimus from this description.

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711 but he sent word to Antony secretly. Antony was somewhat touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camillus to kill him and send his head to himself.[1] When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Cæsar's præfect of horse and had governed Farther Gaul[2] under him and had been designated by him for the consulship the coming year and for the governorship of Hither Gaul. He was the next of the murderers after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year and a half of the assassination. About the same time Minucius Basilus, another of Cæsar's murderers, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was castrating by way of punishment. 43

Appendix

Antony to Hirtius and Octavius

[From the 13th Philippic of Cicero]

When I heard of the death of Trebonius I was both glad and sorry. It rejoiced me to know that a wretch had paid the penalty due to the ashes and bones of the most illustrious of men, and that the vengeance of the gods had overtaken him within the term of the revolving year, and that punishment for the parricidal act is either accomplished or impending. I mourn that Dolabella was voted an enemy

[1] Velleius (ii. 64) gives a somewhat different account of the death of Decimus. "Decimus Brutus," he says, "deserted first by Plancus and afterwards plotted against by him, seeing his army melting away, took to flight and accepted the hospitality of a nobleman named Camelus, in whose house he was found by Antony's emissaries and slain." The Epitome of Livy (cxx.) says that Decimus was put to death by Capenas Sequanus by order of Antony, into whose hands he had fallen.

[2] τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς; "older Gaul," which, as Appian himself tells us in iv. 2, *infra*, means that part of Transalpine Gaul which was held by the Romans before Cæsar's conquests. Yet we know from ii. 111, *supra*, that the whole of Transalpine Gaul was placed in charge of Decimus Brutus by Cæsar just before he embarked for Africa. These facts make it almost certain that the original text was περαίας instead of παλαιᾶς.

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711 as soon as he had put the assassin to death, and that the 43
son of a buffoon should seem dearer to the Roman people than Gaius Cæsar, the father of his country. Most grievous is it that you, Aulus Hirtius, loaded as you are with Cæsar's benefactions, and left by him in a condition that must be a surprise to yourself, and you, O boy, who owe everything to his name, should so conduct yourselves that Dolabella should be condemned by law, and this pest [Decimus Brutus] delivered from siege, and Brutus and Cassius strengthened as much as possible. You look upon the present state of things too much as you have viewed the past. You call Pompey's camp the Senate. You have taken the vanquished Cicero for a leader. You are strengthening Macedonia with armies. You have placed Africa in charge of Varus, who was twice taken prisoner. You have sent Cassius into Syria. You have allowed Casca to hold the tribuneship. You have taken away the revenues of the Luperci assigned to them by Cæsar. You have abolished the colonies of veterans established by law and *senatus consultum*. You promise to restore to the Massilians what was taken from them by the law of war. Do you forget that under the law of Hirtius no Pompeian who lives can hold office? You have supplied Brutus with the money of Apuleius. You applauded the execution of Pætus and Menedemus, Cæsar's hosts, who had been given the citizenship by him. You took no notice of Theopompus when he was stripped and driven out by Trebonius and fled to Alexandria. You tolerate Servius Galba in your camp girded with the same dagger [with which he stabbed Cæsar]. You have enlisted my soldiers and the veterans under pretence of exterminating those who killed Cæsar, and have hurled them, in ignorance of what they were doing, against their quæstor, their general, their comrades. In short, what have you not approved of, what have you not done, that Pompey himself would do if he could come to life, or his son if he were at home? Finally, you say that peace is not possible unless I let Brutus go free or supply him with corn. What? Is this the opinion of those veterans who can still choose their own course? Since you have sold yourselves for adulation and poisoned gifts, . . . But you say you are bringing aid to beleaguered soldiers. I will not hinder them from escaping and going where they

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711 please if they will let that man perish who has deserved to 43 perish. You write me that mention has been made of peace in the Senate, and of five ambassadors of consular rank. It is hard to believe that those who drove me headlong when I offered the fairest conditions, and was even thinking of abating some part of them, can contemplate any moderate or humane act. It is hardly probable that those who voted Dolabella an enemy for his most righteous deed could spare me, who hold the same sentiments with him. Wherefore you ought rather to reflect whether it is more fitting, and more useful to our party, to avenge the death of Trebonius or that of Cæsar, and whether it is more equitable for us to compete with each other in bringing to life the cause of Pompey that has so often had its throat cut, or to combine, so that we be not a laughing-stock to our enemies, who will be the gainers whichever of us shall fall. Fortune itself has thus far shunned that spectacle, that it might not behold two armies belonging to one body fighting each other, with Cicero for trainer, who is a happy man in so far as he can deceive you with the same compliments with which he boasted that he deceived Cæsar. I am resolved to endure no affront either to myself or to my friends, nor to desert the party that Pompey hated, nor to allow the veterans to be moved from their settlements or be put to the torture one by one; nor shall I come short of the faith I pledged to Dolabella, nor violate my alliance with Lepidus, that most conscientious man, nor betray Plancus, the partner of my counsels. If the immortal gods aid me, as I hope, in my righteous course, I shall be glad to live; but if another fate awaits me I shall enjoy your punishment in advance, for if the Pompeians are so insolent when vanquished, what they will be when victorious you will learn by experience rather than myself. Finally, the sum and substance of my decision is this, I can bear the injuries that my friends have done me if they are willing to forget that they have done them, or if they are ready to join me in avenging Cæsar's death. I do not believe that ambassadors are coming to the theatre of war. When they do come I shall know what they demand.[1]

[1] Cicero said that the only answer made by Hirtius and Octavius to this letter was to move nearer to Antony's works. (*Phil.* xiii. 20.)

BOOK IV

THE CIVIL WARS (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER I

Reconciliation of Octavius and Antony — The New Triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus — Plunder of Italy promised to Soldiers — Fearful Prodigies at Rome

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711 1. THUS was punishment visited upon two of Cæsar's 43
murderers, who were conquered in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Cæsar, and who controlled the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his enemies on a proscription list. Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated in the history relating to them. The following events came next in order.

2. Octavius and Antony composed their differences on a small, gradually sloping islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus

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711 himself went before them, searched the island, and shook 43
his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavius in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: That Octavius should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul. The latter, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus, while Octavius was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

3. Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. The assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic only was postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavius were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavius and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with the expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies — cities which excelled in wealth, in the fertility of their territory, and in handsome houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and

Y.R. 711 Vibo.[1] Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavius, as consul, communicated them to the soldiers, all except the proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation. B.C. 43

4. While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled exactly like wolves — a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum — an animal unused to the city. Cattle used the human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat issued from statues; some even sweated blood. Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing of arms and the tramp of horses where none could be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around the sun, there were showers of stones, and continuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and images; in consequence of which the Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead.

Chapter II

Proscription decreed by the Triumvirs — First Massacre — The Triumvirs enter the City — Text of the Proscription

5. As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves they joined in making a list of those who were to be put to death. They put on the list those whom they suspected because of their power, and also their personal enemies, and they swapped their own relatives and friends with each other for death, both then and later. For they made additions to the catalogue from time to time, some on the ground of enmity, others for a grudge merely, or because the vic-

[1] A town in Bruttium, called by the Greeks Hipponium — the modern Monte Leone.

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711 tims were friends of their enemies or enemies of their friends. Some were proscribed on account of their wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of money to carry on the war, since the revenue from Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were coöperating with them. So the triumvirs were short of money because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted by wars and exactions; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. Some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the so-called knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the lieutenants serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-lieutenants. 43

6. As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets. Search was made for the others in temples and houses. There was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men had been seized and massacred, although nobody had been previously sentenced by proscription, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. In despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of committing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them; and they would have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight and get more accurate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the only ones condemned.

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711 To the rest he pledged the public faith, being ignorant of 43 the determinations of the triumvirs. Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the following night.

7. The triumvirs entered the city separately on three successive days, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, each with a prætorian cohort and one legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled with arms and military standards, disposed in the most advantageous places. A public assembly was forthwith convened in the midst of these armed men, and the tribune Publius Titius proposed a law providing for a new magistracy for settling the present disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius, with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks these would have been called harmosts, which is the name the Lacedæmonians gave to those whom they appointed over their subject states.) No time was given for consideration of this measure, nor was a future day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 more, and additions to the lists were constantly made of those who had been previously condemned or killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all the victims should be brought to the triumvirs in order to adjust the rewards, which to a free person were payable in money and to a slave in both money and freedom. All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed].

8. The proscription was in the following words: "Marcus Lepidus, Mark Antony, and Octavius Cæsar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious scoundrels begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Cæsar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted

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711 to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honors, 43 and gifts; nor should we have been compelled to use severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those, who have conspired against us and from whom Gaius Cæsar suffered, cannot be overcome by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Cæsar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Cæsar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the Romans, this man was slain in a public and sacred place designated as the senate-house, under the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, some of whom he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reënforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us.

9. "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall see the rest punished presently. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well in hand, appertaining to Spain and Gaul as well as to Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Cæsar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war. We think that there should be no delay in such an emergency, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that

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712 they began the war against us when they voted us and the 43 armies under us public enemies.

10. "What vast numbers of citizens have they doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their estates, or their high position; nor shall we go to the same lengths as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate[1] on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers. It is incumbent on us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we please, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order.

11. "In God's name then,[2] let no one harbor any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing any excuse or pardon. Those who kill the proscribed and bring us their heads shall receive the following rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master's right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown

[1] Sulla; see i. 97 *supra*.

[2] ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοίνυν: an exclamation of a religious sort equivalent to the Latin *quod felix faustumque sit*. It has no exact equivalent in English.

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711 the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be 43
inscribed in our registers." Such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into Greek.[1]

CHAPTER III

The Triumvirs put some of their Own Near Relatives on the List of the Proscribed — Terrible Panic in the City — Domestic Servants as Informers and Assassins — Scenes of Agony and Horror — Some Remarkable Cases

12. Lepidus was the first to begin the work of proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and the second name on the list was that of his uncle, Lucius Cæsar.[2] These two men had been the first to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The third and fourth victims were relatives of the consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius, the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-in-law of Asinnius. These four were placed at the head of the list, not so much on account of their dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that none of the proscribed might hope to escape. Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When the lists were published, the gates and all the other exits from the city, the harbor, the marshes, the pools, and every other place that was suspected as adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the surrounding country. All these things took place simultaneously.

13. Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, and decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown; also undignified flights in strange costumes, of persons hitherto well

[1] This is the only copy of this hideous instrument that has come down to us. The text corresponds with all that we glean from other authorities concerning it.

[2] Both Dion and Appian say that Lucius Cæsar and Lucius Paulus were allowed to escape. See Sec. 37 *infra*.

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711 dressed. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thick-set tiles of their roofs. Some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers. Others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbors feared neighbors who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, prætors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of savior and master. It was most lamentable that even after submitting to this humiliation they did not obtain pity. 43

14. Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation, for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, and could rely on their own domestics. But now they were more afraid of them than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain the published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to the household, preferring his own gain to compassion for the home. Those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other. After the proscriptions some immediately became the betrayers of all. Others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became hunting dogs for the murderers for the sake of the rewards. Of the remainder, some plundered the houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more

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711 prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It 43
seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

15. Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or dodged, or tried to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others — of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honors of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

16. These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the deity thus smote the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about, after a long period of time, the present well-ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Gaius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remark-

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711 able by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially of one of them, who, by means of his character and good fortune, established the government on a firm foundation, and left his lineage and name to those who now rule after him. I shall now run over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the more worthy to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in numerous books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time. 43

Chapter IV

The Tribune Salvius slain at a Banquet — Annalis and Thoranius betrayed by their Sons — Flight and Pursuit of Cicero — He is killed — His Head and Hand suspended from the Rostra — The Egnatii, Ballus and Aruntius — The two Ligarii — Septimius betrayed by his Wife — Other Depraved Women — Statius, Capito, and Vetulinus — Servants and their Masters — Curious Incidents — The Cases of Varus and Largus — Rufus is proscribed for the Sake of his House

17. The massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His was, according to the laws, a sacred and inviolable office, endowed with the greatest powers, even that of imprisoning the consuls in certain circumstances. Salvius was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had coöperated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his friends, believing that he should not have many more opportunities for

711 doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on. 43
Some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they remained after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the side of the tribune's body. The second one slain was the prætor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he fled, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the prætor more easy to his slayers.

18. Annalis, another prætor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quæstorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied him, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the ædileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father. Thoranius, who was not then prætor but had been such, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim

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711 her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened in the son's case that, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, he was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment. 43

19. Cicero, who had held supreme power after Cæsar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all of his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the seasickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta,[1] a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), crows flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his bed-covering until his servants, perceiving that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Læna, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Come on, you centurions in the rear, this is the place;" whereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken.

20. Læna, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason

[1] All the codices say Capua, but Schweighäuser gives two excellent reasons for considering this a copyist's mistake for Caieta, which Livy tells us was the place. A third reason for so thinking is that Caieta was on the sea-shore, whereas Capua was a considerable distance inland. If Appian had written the word Capua he could hardly have said immediately afterward that one of the two parties conveying the news to Antony took ship for that purpose.



Cicero

In the Museum at Madrid (Bernoulli)

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711 of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which 43
Cicero had written the speeches against the tyranny of Antony and which he had entitled Philippics in imitation of those of Demosthenes. Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Læna, a long distance off, showed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy. The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight. Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time according to agreement.[1]

21. The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by the same blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies were still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mis-

[1] A fragment of Livy, preserved for us in the writings of Seneca Rhetor (*Suasoriæ*, i. 7) gives us that historian's account of the death of Cicero. It is placed in the Appendix to Book IV, together with other extracts from ancient writers touching the same event.

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711 take, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did ill luck add to the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death. Such examples were there of good and bad sons. 43

22. Two brothers of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled. When the latter learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from a bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again. When he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed, "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out. They then cut off his head, just as he was, without washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me instead of him."[1] The centurion, having the proscription list at hand, said, "Your request is a proper one, for your name comes before his." And so saying, he killed both of them in due order. Let these serve as examples in the case of brothers.

[1] ἐμὲ κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου. This may mean, "kill me before him," or "kill me instead of him." The latter was the meaning intended, but the centurion interpreted it the other way for the sake of the jest.

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711 23. Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her. So she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour[1] to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. He learned this fact from his wife, and in ignorance of his domestic ills prepared for flight. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials. 43

24. Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers. The janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming. When the janitor went out Salassus feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing that it was not the janitor but his wife who was bringing the murderers, he precipitated

[1] ἐδεήθη τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντωνίου. This sentence is probably corrupt. The translation is conjectural.

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711 himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a 43
female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her. Let these serve as examples of depraved women.

25. Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered his property around with his own hand. When at last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who had mastered that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messana, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.[1]

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had

[1] That the text is defective here is evident, for how could Vetulinus send his son across the straits to Messana if he were already in Sicily? Schweighäuser met the difficulty by substituting ἔπεμψεν for ἐπέρασεν, *i.e.*, he opened communications with Sextus Pompeius, instead of joining him in Sicily. Probably there is a lacuna in the text.

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711 been his favorite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, 43 and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he found that his master had been killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, "Now you have consolation." Lucius placed his gold in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the seashore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear himself bravely under similar circumstances. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his diet, he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

27. Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not endure the anguish of the tempest, he leaped overboard. Sisinius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him. Æmilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Æmilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both.

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711 Cilo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when 43 they learned that their names were on the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road. Icilius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius when Octavius presided over the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers fell into a dispute with Icilius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.[1]

28. Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to a marsh at Minturnæ, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnæ were mounting guard over this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death and resigned himself to his fate, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnæ," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and — what is more im-

[1] See iii. 95 *supra*, where mention is made of the trial of Brutus and Cassius *in absentia*, where one judge only voted for acquittal and was afterwards put on the list of the proscribed. Dion Cassius (xlvii. 49) refers to this man and gives him the name of Sicilius Coronas, which the French editors of that author (MM. Gros and Boissée) change to Icilius Coronas both on grounds of palæography and on the authority of Appian. Plutarch refers to one Publicus Silicius, who was observed to shed tears when the condemnation of Brutus was announced, and who was afterwards put on the list of the proscribed for that reason. (*Life of Brutus*, 27.)

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711 portant in the eyes of our present rulers — also proscribed! 143
If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighborhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians. Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men." Thus he recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him.

29. Rufus possessed a handsome house near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife.[1] She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one

[1] Valerius Maximus (ix. 5. 4) says that the head of Cæsetius Rufus, a senator, was brought to Antony while he was sitting at a banquet, and that all the others turned away their faces. "Antony ordered that it be brought nearer, and, after looking at it carefully for some time, and while all were waiting to hear what he would say, he remarked: 'I have never known this man.'"

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711 who had tried to save him. A slave revealed the hiding- 43 place of Aterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He had the impudence to bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for doing more than was needful. Such were the evils that befell the men.

Chapter V

Children Proscribed for their Wealth — Sales of Confiscated Property — Taxes imposed on Women — The Daughter of Hortensius makes a Public Speech — The Triumvirs relax the Impost — Outrages committed by Soldiers

30. The calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with the attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the virile toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples. His name being put on the proscription list unexpectedly, his friends and servants ran away. Left alone, and bereft of his brilliant escort, he went to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody else after his mother had failed him, he fled to a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain, where he was captured by a robber and committed to a workhouse. The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped to the high road with his fetters, revealed himself to some passing centurions, and was killed.

31. While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms: "In God's name, let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed

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711 were gutted, but there were not many buyers of their lands. 43
Some were ashamed to add to the burdens of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be quite safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be extra-hazardous to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their preparations, were short 20,000,000 of drachmas.

32. The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the female relatives of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavius and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, they spoke as follows, according to previous arrangement: "As is befitting women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to your female relatives. Having suffered unseemly treatment on the part of Fulvia, we have been compelled by her to visit the forum. You have deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you. If you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. If we women have not voted you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honors, —

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711 why do you visit upon us the same punishment as upon 43
the guilty, whose offences we have not shared?

33. "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honors, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers once for all rose superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. Who now causes you alarm for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other. We did not contribute to Cæsar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are reëstablishing the commonwealth."[1]

34. When Hortensia had thus spoken the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public meeting when the men were silent; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and not furnish money

[1] "Hortensia, the daughter of Q. Hortensius, when the matrons of Rome were burdened with a heavy tax by the triumvirs and no man dared undertake their defence, pleaded the cause of the women before the triumvirs with firmness and success. By the faithful reproduction of her father's eloquence she succeeded in getting the greater part of the pecuniary impost remitted. Quintus Hortensius lived again in his female line. He breathed once more in the words of his daughter. If his male descendants had been willing to follow this vigorous example, the eloquence of Hortensius, so great a heritage, would not have been reduced to a single pleading of a woman." (*Valerius Maximus*, viii, 3, 3.)

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711 while the men were serving in the army. They ordered 43
the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

35. Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs. Even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of rich men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the soldiers lest he should excite their rage against himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them.

Chapter VI

Examples of the Proscribed who escaped — The Brother of Lepidus and the Uncle of Antony allowed to escape — Messala and Bibulus — Acilius and Lentulus — Escape of Apuleius and Rheginus — How Oppius was saved by his Son — The Metelli, Father and Son — Marcus and Restio saved by Slaves — Faithful Freedmen — Daring Exploit of Pomponius — Strange Battle between Two Fugitives — How Varro the Historian was saved — How Virginius the Orator escaped to Sicily — Strange Adventures of Marcus Lollius — Balbinus and Lepidus — The Son of Cicero escapes and is restored to Favor

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711 36. Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honor are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that hope should not be abandoned in adverse circumstances. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable zeal in behalf of the unfortunate at this crisis, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessaries. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city 43

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711 itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. 43
Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves for their masters, quite beyond expectation. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate.

37. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of the triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of the triumvir. When, later, they attempted to do violence to him, she dashed into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now. Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

38. Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Cæsar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavius, who made him consul in place

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711 of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again 43 voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavius sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them.[1] Bibulus was received into favor at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavius and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

39. Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger reward, to send some of their number to his wife with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and conducted him to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed prætor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to Messana about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the prætor's tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a prætor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

[1] See *Illyr.* 17 *supra* and v. 102 *infra*. Messala was a distinguished orator as well as soldier. He is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters (*Ad Brutum*, 12) as having gone to join Brutus in Macedonia about the time that Lepidus and Antony joined forces in Gaul. His oratory is praised by Quintilian (x. 1. 113) and his character by Velleius (ii. 71). He served under Brutus in the battle of Philippi, and his account of it is quoted by Plutarch (*Life of Brutus*, 40–42).

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711 40. The wife of Apuleius threatened that, if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him in a sewer by night. The soldiers were not willing to follow him there in the daytime, on account of the foul odor. The next night she fixed him up as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as he passed along admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius obtained his safety by yielding herself to Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another. 43

41. The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting the trick and nobody troubling him. In like manner they say that Æneas was respected even by his enemies when carrying his father. In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the ædileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office [for public games], the

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711 artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without 43 pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra,[1] so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb: "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him and saved him."

42. There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavius and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavius looked over the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavius, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavius spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony.

43. The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius. When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave, who had been brought up by himself and had been very well treated by him formerly,

[1] The orchestra of a Roman theatre was the place reserved for the Senate.

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711 but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighborhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city to no purpose. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily.[1] 43

44. Appion was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave.[2] When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recess thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace.[3] Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father. Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set

[1] The tale of Antius Restio and his slave is related in nearly the same words by Valerius Maximus (vi. 8. 7).

[2] This tale is related at greater length by Valerius Maximus (xi. 8. 6), who gives the name of the master as Urbinius Panopion.

[3] Suetonius (*Aug.* 27) gives this freedman the name of T. Vinius Philopœmen.

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711 out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise 43
of a sick man, by the slaves to the city. One of the slaves broke his leg and walked leaning upon the other with his hand. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with one of the slaves in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucrctius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him and shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

45. Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavius and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative. The following named persons were saved as I shall now relate. Pomponius arrayed himself in the garb of a prætor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a prætor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a prætor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.[1]

46. Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons. For the remainder of their course they took different roads. They released prisoners and collected fugitives until a suffi-

[1] Valerius Maximus (vii. 3. 9) relates this adventure, but gives to the false prætor the name of Sentius Saturninus Vetulio. Velleius (ii. 77) mentions the latter as restored to citizenship by the treaty made with Sextus Pompeius.

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711 cient force was obtained by each to display the standards, 43 the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they arrived at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedmen put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

47. Another proscript was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome itself, which he taught until the return of peace. Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of ædile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head, and thus celebrating the mysteries of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales[1] protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the sol-

[1] A town of Campania a short distance northwest of Capua — the modern Calvi.

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711 diers from approaching their walls until the troubles began 43
to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honor of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.[1]

48. Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honorable reward and a larger one by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in

[1] This is the same Varro who is mentioned in Bk. ii. Sec. 9 *supra* as the writer of a book entitled the "Three Headed Monster."

Y.R. 711 a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared. A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would tell how the captain was helping a proscript to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius.[1] B.C. 43

49. Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were a proscript he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was. The latter obtained from Octavius, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavius, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was

[1] When Themistocles fled from Athens to the King of Persia the ship in which he was conveyed was driven by a storm to an encampment of Athenians who were besieging Naxos. His identity was not known to anybody on the ship. "He now alarmed the captain by telling who he was and why he was fleeing, and said that, unless the captain should rescue him, he would tell that he was conveying him away for a bribe. He added that their safety could be secured if nobody was allowed to leave the ship until the voyage was finished," etc. (*Thucydides*, i. 137.)

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711 reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was 43
taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him, pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavius and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted. Like good fortune attended them in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year.[1]

50. Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavius and reduced to private life, presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Mæcenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for *lèse-majesté* against Octavius and also the young man's mother as knowing to the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Mæcenas sent the son to Octavius at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavius. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant to one, who stands by your side, the favor of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavius, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune and released his wife from bail altogether.

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after the latter's

[1] Schweighäuser was not able to find any trace of consuls bearing these names, but Mendelssohn refers us to Borghesi (v. 289), from which it appears that Marcus Lollius and Q. Æmilius Lepidus Barbula were consuls in the year of Rome 733, *i.e.* ten years after the battle of Actium.

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711 death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honored 43
with a military command. Afterward Octavius, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed augur, and not long afterward consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavius this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quæstor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavius. Once when Octavius came to visit him Publius showed him some images of Brutus, and Octavius praised him for doing so. Such were some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted.

CHAPTER VII

The War in the Provinces — Cornificius and Sextius in Africa — The Adventures of Publius Sittius — A Battle at Utica — End of the War in Africa

52. While these transactions were taking place at Rome all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among these wars was the one in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, the one in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and the one against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture by siege. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated ones of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

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711 53. That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Cæsar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa as the appointee of Octavius, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavius in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash around and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Lælius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it. 43

54. Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius,[1] who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Cæsar

[1] Publius Sittius Nucerinus was a robber on a large scale. He was at the head of a band in Africa sufficiently large to be called an army at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, and Catiline claimed him as an ally at that time (Sallust, *Cat.* 21). He rendered important aid to Cæsar in Africa by falling upon Juba's rear when the latter was advancing with an army to the aid of the Pompeians. After the battle of Thapsus he demolished the remnant of the hostile force under the command of Saburra, killing the latter and taking Faustus Sulla and Afranius prisoners (Hirtius, *Bell. Afr.* 25, 36, 95).

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711 pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and 43
destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Cæsar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Cæsar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio then fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain. He returned to Africa after Cæsar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training. He expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favor of Octavius. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Cæsar.

55. Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Lælius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Lælius with his cavalry to make a reconnoissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Lælius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with a larger force to assist Lælius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely.

56. Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by

Y.R. 711 the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Lælius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Lælius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians. He brought the cities into allegiance to Octavius and granted pardon to all. This was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted. B.C. 43

CHAPTER VIII

Brutus and Cassius — How Cassius raised an Army in Syria — He gains Four Legions from Egypt — Cassius marches against Dolabella — He captures Laodicea — Dolabella killed — Brutus informs Cassius that Octavius and Antony are crossing the Adriatic — Cassius captures Tarsus

57. Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Cæsar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Cæsar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Cæsar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius and Brutus were still city prætors. Cassius had been chosen by Cæsar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still prætors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone, the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much

Y.R. 711 against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia. B.C. 43

58. While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Cæsar long before. One of these Cæsar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Cæcilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman.[1] This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the sight of which the army resented, and Julius was stabbed. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Cæsar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Cæsar sent Statius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

59. Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took

[1] The text here is almost identical with that which describes the same events in Book iii. 77, 78.

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711 command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, 43 and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate, which they obeyed in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, and who had been left with Cleopatra by Cæsar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quæstor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.

60. Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, having put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When this was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea,[1] a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phœnicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.[2]

[1] There were five Laodiceas in the dominions of the Seleucidæ, all named after the mother of Seleucus (*Syr.* 57). This one was on the coast of Syria, the modern Latikiyeh.

[2] Among the letters of Cicero are two written by P. Lentulus, the quæstor of Trebonius, dated Perge, Pamphylia, May 29 and June 2,

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711 61. Being refused by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, without consulting Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really coöperating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Cæsar. This was the reason why she had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war. 43

62. When Cassius was again ready with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to corrupt Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force and, while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight

the former to Cicero and the latter to the Senate, which throw light on the movements of Dolabella before he shut himself up in Laodicea. He says that he has learned from deserters from Dolabella's army that before throwing himself into the latter place Dolabella tried to get possession of Antioch, but was not allowed to enter. "Then he made several attempts to gain entrance by force, but was each time repulsed with severe loss. After losing about a hundred men he fled by night from Antioch in the direction of Laodicea, leaving his sick and wounded. That night nearly all of his Asiatic troops deserted him, and 800 of them returned to Antioch and surrendered themselves to the officers whom Cassius had left to guard the town. The remainder, of whom my informants were a part, came into Cilicia by way of Mount Amanus. They said that Cassius, with his entire army, was only four days' march from Laodicea when Dolabella started thither, for which reason I am confident that this most infamous robber will get his deserts sooner than we had anticipated." (*Ad Fam.* xii. 15.)

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711 through a number of small gates that were secretly opened 43
to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his own body-guard and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also, and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

63. After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavius and Antony with a strong fleet, he purposed to prevent its sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favorable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavius and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighboring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

64. The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honors upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with vio-

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711 lence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea. 43

Chapter IX

Cassius summons Rhodes to surrender — The Rhodians resolve to fight — They send Archelaus as an Ambassador to Cassius — Speech of Archelaus — Reply of Cassius — Sea-fight between Cassius and the Rhodians — The Rhodians retreat — Cassius lays Siege to the City — Rhodes captured and put under Contribution — Ten Years' Tribute exacted from Asia

65. When Brutus and Cassius had their conference,[1] Brutus was in favor of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to subvert the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavius and Antony and who had fleets, lest they should fall upon the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

66. The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the common people

[1] The Epitome of Livy (cxxii.) says that this conference took place at Smyrna. This is confirmed by Plutarch (*Life of Brutus*, 28).

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711 were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories 43
achieved over men of different character. They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they sent messengers to Myndus nevertheless to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance. When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters[1] war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet,[2] and that Demetrius had done so before him; whereupon they elected Alexander as prytanis, who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet.

67. Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, "O friend of the Greeks, do not subvert a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not attack Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the

[1] As to whether he underestimated the power of Rhodes to defend herself.

[2] See Mithr. 25-27.

Y.R. 711 famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome — at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending — at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honor. So much, O Roman, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you. B.C. 43

68. "As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, restored to health when sick, where you had your hearthstone, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who have hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different hopes, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either that the Rhodians perish utterly, or Cassius be defeated. In addition to my entreaty I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Cæsar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, which is valid even among enemies, not to mention friends and wards. Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies."

69. When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough.

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711 The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and 43 was slighted by my guardians and instructors. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavoring to liberate their country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favor while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who have been sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these very evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

70. "Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped an abundant reward) you remind us of, but when in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you have very short memories. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, to be willing to begin now to fight for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties, — treaties made with you by Gaius Cæsar, the founder of the present monarchy, — yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war, — Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate's decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators

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711 who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you till you obey our orders in everything." With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away. 43

71. Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that by sailing against Mithridates at Myndus they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and skill on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater strength. Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they were confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part having suffered injury.

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement of the

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711 Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched 43
the fight while it was going on from the summit of a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus.[1] He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius, who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus.

73. While they were doing so Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seemed the fact, that those of the citizens who were favorable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine. Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by force. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and punished with death those who were led before him. The others, who were not found, numbering

[1] This was the Lentulus whose letter to the Senate is mentioned in the note on p. 332.

Y.R. 711 about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished. All the B.C. 43
money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it, together with a reward of one-tenth to informers and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections.[1]

74. Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet and very extensive apparatus to Octavius and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Cæsar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighborhood of Tænarum and to collect what booty they could from that country.

[1] Dion Cassius (xlvii. 33) says that Cassius did the Rhodians no harm, but that he took their valuables, both sacred and profane, "except the chariot of the Sun." Plutarch says that he did not treat them with moderation, *οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρῆτο τοῖς πράγμασι*, a phrase which does not necessarily imply the shedding of blood.

Chapter X

Brutus in Macedonia — He marches against Xanthus — Desperate Defence of the Place — Capture of Xanthus — The Xanthians destroy the City and Themselves — Capture of Patara — Murcus sails to Brundusium to blockade Antony

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711 75. We will now relate the transactions of Brutus in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned above in order to refresh the memory.[1] When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Bœotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of three legions of soldiers which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Cæsar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he trained them in the Roman discipline. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he (Brutus) should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver. This he stamped and converted into money. 43.

712 76. When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The 42

[1] See iii. 63 *supra*.

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712 latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might 42 not effect a lodgment or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more than fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward coverings for his workmen, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering as in contests for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labor. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days.

77. The Xanthians were now subjected to close siege. Brutus attacked them now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders, although fatigued by being always pitted against fresh soldiers, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush in with them — in consequence of which there was around the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

78. Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they burned all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis

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712 without the hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled 42
upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under a heavy volley of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge in the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every means [to effect an entrance], Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls to serve in place of ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up.

79. The Œnandians, who were neighbors of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of a precipice. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to chop down the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others outside chopped in conjunction with them, and coöperated to the same end. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

80. When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was

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712 going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but 42
when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men. Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city, shut up by Harpagus,[1] then became the tomb of the Xanthians; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.[2]

81. Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands, and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city

[1] ἡ πόλις ἀμεληθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἁρπάγου: literally, "the city being uncared for by Harpagus." What this may mean it is hard to understand, since Harpagus was an enemy outside the walls. Mendelssohn accordingly suggests ἀποκλεισθεῖσα (shut up) in place of ἀμεληθεῖσα. I have adopted this emendation, but it is pure conjecture.

[2] Plutarch's account of the siege and destruction of Xanthus is very like Appian's. He refers also to its earlier destruction in the Persian war (*Life of Brutus*, 30, 31). The latter event is described by Herodotus (i. 176).

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712 possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold, and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for superserviceable zeal in accusing his superiors. 42

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbor and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet, together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus, where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had returned home with difficulty and in ill health, he sailed for Brundusium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbor, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports and was favored by a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavius, who was

Y.R. 712 contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island. B.C. 42

Chapter XI

Doings of Sextus Pompeius in Spain — He sails to Sicily — Sea-fight between Pompeius and Salvidienus — Salvidienus put to Flight — Octavius and Antony cross the Adriatic — Their Advance Guard march to Philippi and occupy the Passes of the Mountains of Thrace — Brutus and Cassius move toward Philippi

83. With Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Cæsar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa.[1] His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain,[2] which was the most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Cæsar. When Cæsar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

84. Then Cæsar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on the same kind of warfare, Cæsar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to

[1] See Sec. 54.

[2] *καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου . . . περίθεοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου.* Mendelssohn suggests, in place of the second clause, *περιέθει ἐπιόντος τε.*

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712 Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. 42
Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but, taking what ships he found in the harbors, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius.

85. In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before, and those who had fled from Rome, both freemen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavius learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, as though it were an easy task, while he passed through Italy himself with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllæum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, labored heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current, the ships of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, being unable to maintain their position firmly, or to work their oars, or

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712 manage their rudders, by reason of their inexperience, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the straits, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet. 42

86. When Octavius arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundusium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavius, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundusium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavius, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundusium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favorable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavius and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus[1] was sent by Brutus and Cassius to coöperate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for, as the triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from

[1] This was the son of Cæsar's enemy of the same name who was killed during the retreat of the Pompeians from the field of Pharsalus. Ahenobarbus is a Latin surname meaning bronze-beard, the equivalent of Barbarossa. The codices contain an amusing series of blunders here. One manuscript has *Δομίτιος ὁ ἀοινόβαρος* (Domitius not heavy with wine), another *Δομίτιος ἀηνοβάρβαρος* (Domitius, the bronze barbarian), four others have *Δομίτιος δ' ἦν ὁ βάρβαρος* (Domitius was a barbarian).

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712 elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys 42
from Italy. And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 long ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy.

87. Decidius[1] and Norbanus, whom Octavius and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpileans and the Sapæans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Ænus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapæans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but that there was a roundabout road which was difficult and three times as long.

88. Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not so much to close the passage to them as to transfer themselves from Macedonia to Thrace for want of provisions, marched toward Ænus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and Cardia,[2] which clasp the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas.[3] Here they reviewed their army,

[1] The name of this man was Decidius Saxa. He is mentioned in *Syr.* 51 and in the Epitome of Livy, cxxvii.

[2] The text says that they marched toward Ænus and Maronea and thence toward Lysimacheia and Cardia, which would be the reverse of the route they actually took to Philippi. Schweighäuser judged that this was a copyist's blunder.

[3] Here we have more geographical confusion. The gulf of Melas, *i.e.*, the Black Gulf, was a day's journey east instead of west of Ænus. Cardia was situated on it. Probably the safest conclusion is that Appian did not know the exact situation of any of these places except

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Y.R. 712 which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full, so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, 3000 Thracian and Illyrian,[1] and 2000 Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse. B.C. 42

CHAPTER XII

Brutus and Cassius arrive at the Gulf of Melas — Speech of Cassius to the Republican Army — After which they move against the Enemy

89. Such was the size of the army reviewed by Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had served under Gaius Cæsar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Cæsar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful they had ever beheld. To both the generals this was an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters

Lysimacheia and Cardia. These he has placed correctly at the neck of the Thracian Chersonesus.

[1] The number of Thracian and Illyrian horse is not given in the text. The number is inferred from the second enumeration found in Sec. 108 *infra*.

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712 proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, 42
who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows: —

90. "A common peril, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery — the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity — you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men, our enemies, have brought against us, you understand them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honorable and righteous cause for war.

91. "We raised Cæsar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his friends (for we were honored before others by him), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that his will should take the place of the laws, his rule should supplant that of the people, and his supremacy that of the Senate in everything.

712 92. "Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves. You, of the common people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything. But in time of peace you resume the mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the prætors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honors upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honored have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know? 42

93. "From the time when Cæsar's domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either prætor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody's deeds, nor, if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whom you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the order of one man, because in your behalf they saw fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies, which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they

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712 adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, 42
and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

94. "It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder; nor was it our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country. Accordingly the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Cæsar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy), because he was the only son of Pompey the Great, who first took up arms to defend the republic, and because the young man had made some little opposition in a private way to the tyranny in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

95. "What their present situation is you know. They have been proscribed without trial, and their property confiscated. Without being condemned, they have been put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere,

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712 although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. 42 In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, prætors, tribunes, ædiles, and knights have been exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over, — sudden seizures of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such conditions has the city now been plunged. At the head of all these villains are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and tutors first of all. It is said that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this, — Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an outrage committed upon one woman under the influence of the amatory passion, and then, for that one act, they resolved to be ruled by kings no longer?

96. "While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Cæsar when they proscribe men who were not in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preferences for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he was the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part have those women had in the conspiracy against Cæsar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part have those plebeians had, whose property is worth 100,000 drachmas each, upon whom new taxes and contributions have been imposed, which they have been

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712 ordered to pay under penalty of being informed against and 42
fined? And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favor us because we do what is just.

97. "Besides the favor of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they coöperate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Cæsar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides have not taken up arms for the same reason, — the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause.

98. "Let it give no one any concern that he has been one of Cæsar's soldiers. We were not *his* soldiers then, but our country's. The pay and the rewards given were not Cæsar's, but the republic's. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose its own destiny. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other

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712 things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome." 42

99. They all cried out, "Let us go forward!" and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: "May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is co-operating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft, besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are cleared of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war,[1] they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere from Italy, exhausted as it is by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

100. "Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and this must be carried to them overland with severe labor. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, and it is

[1] νεῦρα πολέμου: "sinews of war." This phrase is older than Appian. It occurs in Cicero's *Philippic*, v. 2, "*nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam.*"

Y.R. 712 brought to us daily by sea without labor from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favor of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these words, we will make an additional gift from this platform — to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas,[1] to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion." B.C. 42

101. Having thus spoken and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days around the gulf of Melas the army came to Ænus and thence to Doriscus and other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.[2]

[1] This is the only place in Appian where we find the phrase "Italic drachmas." What is meant is the Roman denarius, equal to sixteen American cents.

[2] Both Doriscus and Mount Serrium are mentioned in Pliny's *Natural History* (iv. 18).

CHAPTER XIII

Tillius Cimber flanks the Enemy with his Fleet — Brutus and Cassius impeded by the Mountains — Severe Labors in the Thracian Forests — They arrive at Philippi — They encamp on the Hills

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712 102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius 42 and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapæan pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpileans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

103. When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapæans strongly. Again Brutus and Cassius could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhascupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapæan mountain) of three days' march, which had been impassable to men up to this time on account of rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests.

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712 If they would carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hebrus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy. 42

104. They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labor and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic, fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves had been led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him. While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnoissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage,

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712 and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapæans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received an ovation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by an unknown path, the other because he had discovered the movement. 42

105. Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs[1] bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapæans and Corpileans, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Cora was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name.[2] The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.

106. There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus

[1] κρηνίς: "a small spring."

[2] This is the mythological tale of the seizure of Proserpine by Pluto. The Greek name of Proserpine was Persephone, but she was worshipped at Athens under the name of Cora (the maiden), in conjunction with her mother, Demeter. The place of her seizure was commonly assigned to the plain of Enna in Sicily. The word Zygactes in Greek means "broken yoke." This river is not mentioned by any other author.

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712 were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter 42
on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavius having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the precipitous hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites,[1] and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant. Their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades. Brutus and Cassius were satisfied with the position and they proceeded to fortify their camps.

CHAPTER XIV

Antony arrives at Amphipolis — Advances boldly to Philippi — The Forces on either Side — Brutus and Cassius hope to starve their Enemies — Antony seeks to force an Engagement — He attacks the Fortifications of Cassius — Brutus routs the Army of Octavius and captures his Camp — Antony puts the Army of Cassius to Flight — Captures and plunders his Camp

107. Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his apparatus there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from

[1] This is the river Angites mentioned in Herodotus vii. 113, where Xerxes paused and offered a sacrifice of white horses to the river Strymon. Its present name is the Anghista.

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712 the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's 42 situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marshes; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350 stades[1] from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever the work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

108. In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavius had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something

[1] This should be 250 stades, according to Schweighäuser, that being approximately the distance between Amphipolis and Philippi.

Y.R. 712 of being full, while those of Octavius and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer. B.C. 42

109. Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and Cassius protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the same, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day cutting a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway and flanking it with stone so that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing around his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions inside and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and laying a solid foundation for his rampart, thus intercepting the pas-

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712 sage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape 42
to him, nor he render assistance to them.

110. When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the fortification of Cassius which lay between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged of their own volition, without any order from their officers, took them in flank, and killed as many as they could reach. The battle once begun they charged upon the army of Octavius, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavius had in common, and captured it. Octavius himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.[1]

111. When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced

[1] ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν. Plutarch used the same words with a single variation, substituting ἱστορεῖ (*relates*) for ἔγραψεν (*has written*). This identity of language would indicate that they drew from the same source, yet their accounts of the beginning of the battle differ from each other. Plutarch says that at a council of war held by Brutus and Cassius it was resolved to give battle on the following day, although Cassius favored delay; that after the resolution was taken Cassius was in good spirits, and expressed his confidence in victory; and that on the following morning the scarlet robe, which was the Roman signal of battle, was hung out in the camps of both Brutus and Cassius. Still, the two accounts are not necessarily conflicting, since one tells what took place in the republican camp, and the other what occurred in that of the triumvirs. Plutarch's authority is Messala Corvinus, who commanded a legion under Brutus, and who was probably present at the council of war, since he relates a conversation that he had with Cassius immediately after it. (*Life of Brutus*, 39, 40.)

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712 under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck a body of Cassius' troops, which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the débris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall. 42

112. As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already worsted, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000 and on the side of Octavius double that number.[1]

[1] Messala is the authority for this estimate of the losses. Plutarch says: "The losses of Brutus and Cassius were 8000, including the

CHAPTER XV

Cassius commits Suicide — Brutus weeps over his Body — Naval Engagement in the Adriatic — The Antonian Fleet destroyed

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113. When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had any camp to go to, he ascended the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. He could not see accurately on account of the dust, nor could he see everything, but upon discovering that his own camp was captured he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to draw his sword and kill him. While Pindarus delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders. Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which also the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too slow.[1]

military servants, whom Brutus called Brigas. Messala says that he thinks those of the enemy were more than twice as great," evidently a a very wild guess, like most of our statistics of the casualties of battles in ancient times. (*Life of Brutus*, 45.)

[1] The second of these two accounts of the death of Cassius is found, at greater length, in Plutarch (*Life of Brutus*, 43); in Velleius (ii. 70); in Valerius Maximus (ix. 9. 2); in Dion Cassius (xlvii. 46); and with a slight variation in Florus (iv. 7).

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712 114. Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, ah, whither?" He delivered the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered no defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jeeringly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired, but they dared not put us to the test." 42

115. On the same day that witnessed the battle of Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavius, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a prætorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable *corps d'élite* of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. The wind suddenly failing, the rest floated about in a dead calm on the sea, having been delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. The latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valor. They hastily lashed their ships together with ropes and spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on ac-

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712 count of the fire, and thus again were exposed to being 42
surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

116. Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, giving and receiving blows. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, by hunger, and by thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them were nourished for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundusium on his ship five days later. Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a shipwreck or a naval engagement. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

CHAPTER XVI

Brutus addresses his Army — Speech of Antony to his Soldiers — He offers Battle to the Enemy — Scarcity in the Camp of the Triumvirs — Brutus declines to Fight — His Soldiers become Restive — His Officers urge him to fight — He yields to them unwillingly — Octavius and Antony encourage their Forces — Prodigies before the Battle — Second Battle of Philippi — The Republican Army routed

117. Brutus assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our

Y.R. 712 left wing. When it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished. Most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners — concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice? B.C. 42

118. "When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardor before the proper time. Let no one think that delay implies want of generalship more than haste,[1] when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if we wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion." After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he prom-

[1] Μηδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγείσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα. The text is probably corrupt at this place. Various suggestions have been made for its amendment. In the edition of Tollius ἀπειρίαν (want of generalship) is suggested in place of ἐμπειρίαν. This solves the difficulty with the least possible change of the text.

Y.R. 712 ised to give them also the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder. B.C. 42

119. Octavius and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of courage that, like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. They built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid. Now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, on which account also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their rocky fastnesses instead of their arms, be valliant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be unequal to the capture of their fortifications. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

120. "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. You, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valor. Nor will you be troubled, after a little, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for our wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's possession, but

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712 the enemy's wealth in addition. And if we are in haste[1] 42
to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while we, coming from our own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. And as compensation for your losses we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

121. Having spoken thus, he led out his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy because, by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest it should be forced unexpectedly. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavius occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

122. The task of Octavius and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and fear fell upon them more and

[1] καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα. Nauck suggests εὐχόμεθα in place of the last word, so that it would read "if we *wish* to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle."

Y.R. 712 more each day,[1] for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies,[2] it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad rush to bring him to an engagement against his will. B.C. 42

123. Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else, rather than come to an engagement with men who were famishing, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all — not like Cassius, who was austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share

[1] *ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίγνετο*: an obscure passage. The translation is in part conjecture.

[2] Plutarch says expressly that Brutus was not aware of this disaster to his enemies; for, although a deserter from the camp of Octavius came to tell the news, he was not believed, and was not allowed to see Brutus at all. (*Life of Brutus*, 47.)

Y.R. 712 the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately — we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy. B.C. 42

124. His officers kept teasing and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army now, which would speedily bring glorious results. If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem to be carrying on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Cæsar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had apprehended from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

125. So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and unbounded confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a well-deserved shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favored delay, and fear lest they should come short of their

Y.R. 712 promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good counsel; because also Brutus, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a severe countenance and reminded them in a few words of what the opportunity offered. "You want to fight," he said; "you force me to battle when I am able to conquer otherwise.[1] Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine." With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence. B.C. 42

126. Octavius and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, and urging them in the most serious manner to do their duty, and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be the greatest incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy which they will yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honorable death. If we conquer we gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessity urging us on, and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so

[1] *ὑμεῖς με ἑτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε.* The Latin version of Candidus reads, "You have forced me, who thought differently, and had victory in my grasp, to come to battle." Mendelssohn thinks that there is a lacuna in the existing text after the word *ἑτέρως*, which should be filled in accordance with the version of Candidus. Professor Wright suggests the rendering I have given above, which is clear and forceful without any change of the text.

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712 that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get 42 away for another period of idleness — the only warriors who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight."

127. In this way Octavius and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe. Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his nearest neighbor, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and it did decide it.

128. The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour,[1] at which time two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined.[2] The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory; on the other for victory

[1] The Roman day, from sunrise to sunset, was divided into twelve hours. The ninth hour was three o'clock in the afternoon.

[2] Plutarch relates this and several other prodigies on the authority of Publius Volumnius, a philosopher, who was serving in the army under Brutus. One of these was of a very unusual kind. The arm of one of the centurions in Brutus' camp sweated oil of roses; and although it was several times wiped and dried, it did not cease. (*Life of Brutus*, 48.) What this portended we are not informed.

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712 and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced 42
to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the rear ranks. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardor, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front. Finally, the soldiers of Octavius, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavius himself (for the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were putting in motion a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks began to dissolve and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavius, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification, but at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains.

129. The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavius to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everywhere, and everywhere attacking, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pur-

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712 sued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on 42 furiously, surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavius; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness, "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by vice. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horsemen were ashamed of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think — as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity.

Chapter XVII

Brutus escapes to the Mountains — His Officers decline to fight again — Brutus commits Suicide — Character of Brutus and Cassius — Their Crime against Cæsar — The Spectre in Brutus' Tent — Death of Young Cato — Death of Portia — Magnitude of the Victory — Its Lasting Results

130. Brutus fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed: —

"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,"[2]

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that, when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavius. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus,

[1] Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν. From the *Medea* of Euripides, 332.

Y.R. 712 fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp. B.C. 42

131. On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having less than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, misled by a god, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato was still willing to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.[1]

132. So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime. Although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Cæsar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all

[1] Dion Cassius (xlvii. 49) says that before killing himself Brutus repeated the words of Hercules: "Delusive virtue, thou art but a name. I cultivated thee as a reality, but thou art the slave of fortune." Florus (iv. 7) puts in the mouth of Brutus nearly the same words: "*Non in re, sed in verbo tantum esse virtutem.*" Brutus' dying speech given by Plutarch is much longer, as well as more appropriate and dignified, and better entitled to credence.

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712 times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into misfortune. On account of those two it granted amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregardful of Gaius Cæsar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination, — so much were those two held in honor by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were preferred to [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not implacable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable. 42

133. When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans; but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Cæsar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Cæsar and followed them more faithfully against Cæsar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Cæsar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were

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712 vanquished, while some of them had abandoned Antony at 42
Brundusium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but generally hurtful.[1] Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labors Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything because he was by nature a seeker after knowledge.

134. Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Cæsar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without an equal, who was most useful above all other men to Rome and its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his lictor presented his garland wrong side up. A gilded statue of Victory dedicated to Cassius fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound,[2] and swarms of bees continu-

[1] *ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μὲν ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ ἀεί.* The Latin version of Geslen rendered this passage *nomen reipublicae, speciosum quidem sed non semper commodum* (the name of the republic, specious indeed, but not always advantageous); and this led Schweighäuser to suggest doubtfully *οὐ λυσιτελοῦς* in place of *ἀλυσιτελοῦς*, in which case the meaning would be "not always useful," instead of "always hurtful." Plutarch says that government by the majority seemed to be no longer possible to the Romans, and that a monarchy was needed; and accordingly Providence, in order to remove the only man who stood in the way of the one who was able to govern (meaning Octavius), prevented Brutus from receiving the news of his victory in the Adriatic, etc. (*Life of Brutus*, 47.)

[2] Dion Cassius (xlvii. 40) favors us with a long chapter, full of prodigies bearing upon the battles of Philippi. The prodigy of the birds is thus described: "But that which especially indicated to Brutus and Cassius their ruin, so that it was plain to their adversaries, was the great number of vultures and other carrion-eating birds that soared

Y.R. 712 ally settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause:— B.C. 42

> "A cruel fate
> O'ertakes me, aided by Latona's son."[1]
> *Iliad*, xvi. 849. *Bryant's translation.*

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi."[2] And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle. When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due to divine interposition, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Cæsar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

above them only, and looked down at them screaming and squeaking in a fearful and awe-inspiring way." Florus (iv. 7) mentions the same phenomenon: "Birds accustomed to feed on dead bodies flew around the camp as though it were already their own."

[1] *ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός*: the dying words of Patroclus.

[2] There is a noteworthy similarity of Greek words between Plutarch and Appian in relating the conversation between Brutus and the spectre, viz., Plutarch: "*Τίς ποτ' ὤν*," *εἶπεν*, "*ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν ἢ τί βουλόμενος ἥκεις ὡς ἡμᾶς;*" *Ὑποφθέγγεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ φάσμα*, "*Ὁ σὸς, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὄψει δέ με περὶ Φιλίππους.*" Appian: *καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη· τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν, Ὁ σὸς, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις.*

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712 135. Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in his best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavius and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in garrisons surrendered. The garrisons themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavius and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of Cassius himself, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons.[1] Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom,[2] he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb. 42

136. Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they took sides in the contest in such a way that

[1] Plutarch says that the son of Cato refused to retreat or yield, but fought to the last, declaring who he was and pronouncing his father's name, and finally fell on a heap of slain enemies. (*Life of Brutus*, 49.)

[2] The legal form of manumission in Rome was to seize the slave by the hand, whirl him around once, and give him a slight push. The word *manumission* (sending by the hand) is supposed to have been derived from this ceremony.

Y.R. 712 the victor might save the vanquished. Portia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some coals of fire that they were carrying, and swallowed them.[1] Of the members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavius, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store. B.C. 42

137. Thus did Octavius and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons evenly matched. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof of this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain among the victors appeared to be not less [than among the vanquished].

138. Thus the army of Antony and Octavius confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by

[1] This tale of the death of Portia from swallowing live coals was widely current in the ancient world, yet there is good reason for doubting it. Plutarch says that there was a letter of Brutus in circulation, speaking of the death of Portia, and accusing his friends of neglecting her in her last illness. (*Life of Brutus*, 53.) There is a letter from Cicero to Brutus extant, consoling the latter for the death of some one very near to him. As he speaks of the loss as one *cui simile in terris nihil fuit* (which has not its like upon earth), it could hardly have been anything else than that of a wife. (*Ad Brutum*, 9.)

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712 one blow from extreme danger of famine and fear of 42
destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. That result came about which Antony and Octavius had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavius not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that transpired after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.

APPENDIX

BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Death of Cicero

"Just before the arrival of the triumvirs Marcus Cicero left the city, considering it certain that he had no more chance of being saved from the vengeance of Antony than Brutus and Cassius had of escaping that of Octavius, — which was the fact. He fled first to his Tusculan villa and thence proceeded by cross-roads to that of Formiæ in order to take ship at Caieta. There, after advancing several times seaward, he was driven back by adverse winds, and again he found himself unable to endure the tossing of the ship on the gloomy rolling waves, and he began at length to grow weary both of flight and of life. So he returned to his upper villa, which was a little more than a mile from the shore, saying, 'I will die in my fatherland that I have so often saved.' It is well established that his slaves were ready to fight for him bravely and faithfully, but that he ordered them to put down the litter and endure with patience whatever an adverse fate should compel. As he leaned out of the litter and offered his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor

did this satisfy the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands, also, for the offence of having written something against Antony. Thus the head was brought to Antony and placed by his order between the two hands on the rostra, where, often as consul, often as a consular, and, that very year against Antony, he had been heard with admiration of his eloquence, the like of which no other human voice ever uttered. The people, raising their eyes bedimmed with tears, could scarcely bear the sight of his dismembered parts. He lived sixty-three years, so that in the absence of violence his death could not have been considered premature. His genius served him well both in his works and in the rewards thereof. He enjoyed the favors of fortune for a long time, yet in the intervals of his protracted career of prosperity he suffered some severe blows, exile, the ruin of the party he had espoused, the death of his daughter, and his end so sad and bitter, none of which calamities did he bear as became a man except his death, which to one who weighs the matter impartially must seem the less undeserved, since he suffered nothing more cruel at the hands of his victorious enemy than he would himself have inflicted if fortune had put the same power in his hands.[1] Yet if we weigh his virtues and his faults he must be pronounced a great, energetic, and ever memorable man, to fitly sound whose praises another Cicero would be needed." (*Livy*, cxx.) This judgment of the gravest of Roman historians is the one which the better part of mankind have ratified in all succeeding ages.

[1] Both in letters and in public speeches Cicero declared that if he had had a part in the assassination of Cæsar he would have put Antony to death also. Thus in the letter to Cassius (*Ad Fam.* xii. 3) he says: "The fury of your friend [Antony] increases from day to day. For a first example, there is the statue which he has placed in the forum inscribed 'To the most worthy Father of his Country,' whereby you are stigmatized not only as assassins, but even as parricides. *You* stigmatized, do I say? Rather myself, for this madman says that I was the leader in your most noble deed. Would that I had been! In that case he would not be troubling us now." In the second Philippic (7) he says that if Rome had the same kind of a leader now that she had in the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, Antony would share the fate of those conspirators. When Cicero wrote the second Philippic he knew that he took his life in his hand. Addressing himself to Antony, he said: "I defended the republic when I was young, I will not

The glowing words of Velleius also deserve a place here; and these likewise have found their echo in all later generations, viz.: "You have gained nothing, Mark Antony (for the indignation bursting from my mind and breast compels me to exceed the intended character of this work); you have gained nothing, I say, by paying the price for closing that celestial voice and cutting off that most noble head, and instigating, by a cruel reward, the death of a man who had once been so great a consul and the saviour of the republic. You deprived Marcus Cicero of a life of anxiety and a feeble old age, of an existence worse under your chieftainship than death under your triumvirate. But the fame and glory of his deeds and words you have not taken from him in the least, but rather augumented. He lives and will live in the memory of all ages. So long as this body of the natural universe, whether created by chance or by providence, or however constituted, which he almost alone of the Romans penetrated with his intellect, embraced with his genius, and illuminated with his eloquence, shall endure, it will bear the praise of Cicero as coeval with it. All posterity will admire what he wrote against you and execrate what you did against him, and sooner shall the human race perish from the earth than his fame decay." (*Velleius*, ii. 66.)

Valerius Maximus, under the heading of "Ingratitude among the Romans," says: "Cicero, at the instance of M. Cælius, with no less zeal than eloquence, defended C. Popilius Læna, a man of Picenum, and, though he had a doubtful case, returned him in safety to his home. This Popilius, of his own accord, although he had never afterward been harmed by Cicero by word or deed, asked Antony to send him to pursue and kill that illustrious proscript. When he had obtained this detestable commission he hast-

abandon it now that I am old. I despised the sword of Catiline, I will not quail before yours. I will offer my body freely if my death can bring back liberty to the state. . . . Death is even desirable to me, Conscript Fathers, after the honors I have gained and the deeds I have done. I ask for only these two things: first, that dying, I may leave the Roman people free; the immortal gods can grant me nothing that I desire more. The other is that the rewards of each man may be in proportion to what he has deserved of the republic." (*Phil.* ii. 46.)

ened with joy and gladness to Caieta and ordered that man who, not to mention his very great dignity, had certainly been Læna's preserver, and was entitled to veneration for the zealous and distinguished service rendered in his private capacity, to lay bare his throat. Then, with absolute coolness, he cut off the head of Roman eloquence and the most renowned right hand of peace. Loaded with these, as with the honorable spoils of war, he returned gayly to the city. As he bore the infamous burden it never occurred to him that he was carrying the very head that once had pleaded eloquently for his own. Words are powerless to stigmatize this monster, since no other Cicero exists to deplore in fitting terms the misfortune that befell that one." (*Val. Max.*, v. 3. 4.)

The following is Plutarch's account of Cicero's death. "While these events were in progress Cicero was at his country place near Tusculum, and his brother was with him. When they heard of the proscription they decided to go down to Astura, Cicero's place on the sea-coast, and sail thence to Macedonia to join Brutus, for it was already rumored that he had mastered those parts. They were conveyed, sorrow-stricken, in litters, and often stopped on the road, bringing their litters near together, and condoled with each other. Quintus was particularly disturbed as he remembered his needy condition. So he said that, as he had brought nothing from home, and as Cicero's provision was also very scanty, it would be best for the latter to continue his flight, while Quintus should return home and provide himself with necessaries. After this was decided upon they embraced each other, wept, and went different ways. Quintus, not many days later, was betrayed by his servants to the pursuers, and was killed, together with his son. Cicero was conveyed to Astura, where he found a ship ready, in which he embarked and sailed as far as Circæum with a favorable wind. The pilots wished to proceed from that place immediately, but Cicero, either fearing the sea, or not having lost all faith in Octavius, went ashore and travelled 100 stades by land toward Rome. Again he became anxious, changed his mind, and went back to the sea-shore at Astura. There he passed the night in great trouble and perplexity. He even contemplated going

secretly to the house of Octavius and killing himself on his hearthstone, in order to bring divine vengeance upon him, but the fear of torture changed his purpose. Then, falling a prey to other perplexed and varying counsels, he allowed his servants to convey him by sea to Caieta, where he had a country place, an agreeable retreat in the summer season when the north winds blow fresh. There was a small temple on the sea-shore at this place, out of which crows flew in large numbers and with loud noise, to Cicero's ship as it neared the land, and, alighting on either side of the yard-arm, some of them croaked and others pecked at the ends of the ropes. This seemed to all to be an ill omen. Nevertheless, Cicero disembarked and proceeded to his villa, where he went to bed to take a little rest. The crows alighted at the window, where they clamored tumultuously, and one of them flew down upon the bed where Cicero was covered up, and, little by little, drew the covering from his face with its beak. When the servants saw this they reproached themselves for remaining idle spectators of their master's fate, and not rescuing him in his undeserved distress, while the brute creation was lending him aid. So, partly by entreaty, partly by force, they put him in the litter and carried him toward the sea-shore.

"In the meantime the murderers were coming, under the command of the centurion Herennius and the military tribune Popilius, whom Cicero had once defended when he was prosecuted for killing his own father. Finding the doors closed, they broke them open, but they did not find Cicero, and those who were within said that they did not know where he was. It is said that a young man named Philologus, who had been educated by Cicero in the liberal arts and sciences, a freedman of his brother Quintus, told the tribune that they were carrying the litter through the bushy shaded walks toward the sea. The tribune took a few men and ran around to the exit of these paths. Herennius kept his course along the path, and when Cicero saw him he ordered the servants to put down the litter. Then, leaning his chin on his left hand as was his custom, he looked straight at the murderers. His haggard appearance and his unshaven face, wasted with anxiety, caused most of them to hide their own heads while Herennius murdered

him. He was killed while holding his neck out of the litter, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age. By Antony's command his head was cut off and also the hands with which he wrote the Philippics, for he styled his orations against Antony the Philippics, and they are so called to this day." (*Life of Cicero*, 47–48). It thus appears from Plutarch's account, as well as from Livy's, that, if Cicero had really desired to escape, he had abundant opportunity. It was perhaps the intention of Octavius and Lepidus that he should do so.

Dion Cassius gives a very brief account of Cicero's death, but adds some particulars about the indignities offered to his remains, viz.: "When the head of Cicero was brought to the triumvirs (for he was captured and killed while fleeing), Antony heaped many bitter reproaches on it, and then ordered that it be put in a more conspicuous place than the others on the rostra, so that in the place where Cicero had been heard speaking against himself it might be seen, together with the right hand, as that also had been cut off. Before it was removed Fulvia took the head in her hands, and, after abusing it with bitter words and spitting on it, placed it on her knees, opened the mouth, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with pins that she used in dressing her hair, all the time heaping disgusting epithets upon it." (*Dion*, xlvii. 8.)

BOOK V

THE CIVIL WARS (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER I

The Scattered Republican forces — How they were reassembled — Octavius and Antony after the Battle — Antony in Asia — Makes a Public Speech at Ephesus — Levies Ten Years' Taxes — Distress of the Inhabitants — Antony makes a tour of The Eastern Provinces — Meets Cleopatra in Cilicia and becomes her Slave — The Murder of Arsinoe — Unsuccessful Attack on Palmyra — Antony goes to Egypt to join Cleopatra

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712 1. AFTER the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavius re- 42
turned to Italy. Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt — a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The later wars were sporadic. But, finally, Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, and Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavius. These events came about in the following manner.

2. Cassius, surnamed Parmesius,[1] had been left by Cas-

[1] This man is called Cassius Parmensis (*i.e.* Cassius of Parma) by Suetonius (*Aug.* 4). He was one of the assassins of Cæsar, and, according to Velleius (ii. 87), the last one to be punished. There is a letter to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xii. 13) from "Cassius, Quæstor," dated at

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712 sius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect 42
money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus, he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had a numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes.[1] To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus,[2] who had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest re-

the promontory of Crommyon, Cyprus, June, 710, describing the naval operations of himself and others in those waters. That this letter was written by Cassius Parmensis and not by Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, is made probable by the fact that he was then, as he informs Cicero, cruising in conjunction with Turulius (mentioned below), and that they joined their fleets and sailed to the Adriatic about the time that Lucius Cassius was making his peace with Antony in Asia, as described in Sec. 7. Cassius of Parma was a poet of distinction. See Horace (*Epistles*, i. 4. 3).

[1] This Turulius is twice mentioned in the letter to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xii. 13) as the quæstor of Tillius Cimber and as the commander of a fleet in the Mediterranean operating against Dolabella. According to Valerius Maximus (i. 1. 19) his death was due to an act of impiety in cutting down for ship-building purposes a grove of trees sacred to Æsculapius.

[2] It is not known whether this Lepidus was a relative of the triumvir or not.

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712 mained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by them- 42
selves. Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus.

3. After the battle of Philippi Octavius and Antony offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavius went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He was chosen for this purpose on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Ægean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. It was decided, at the instance of Octavius, to make Cisalpine Gaul free,[1] as the elder Cæsar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius. It was decided that if Octavius should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time, except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in prætorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavius had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus. Then Octavius proceeded
713 toward the Adriatic. 41

4. When Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of Cæsar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed

[1] Κελτικὴν . . . αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι. It had been Cæsar's intention to put Cisalpine Gaul on a footing of equality with the rest of Italy as to civil and political rights. This intention was now carried out.

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713 them as follows: "Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you 41
to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators among us made these taxes necessary. When they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who made these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Cæsar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages; for he even turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honorable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

5. "Now that a just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier penalty. We need money and land and cities as rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries, amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry and various other arms of the service. The sum that we need for such a vast number of men you can easily imagine. Octavius has gone to Italy to provide them with land and cities — to expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we may not be under the necessity of expelling you from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs, we must count upon getting money from you, not all that you have (we could not think of that), but a part, a very small part, which, when you learn it, I think you will cheerfully pay. What you contributed to our enemies in two years (for you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year, because we are pressed by necessity. As you are sensible of our

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713 leniency toward you, I will merely add that the penalty 41
imposed is by no means equal to your deserts."

6. Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking, threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly give to their benefactors, but that they had been stripped by their enemies, to whom they had delivered not only their money, but, in default of money, their plate and their ornaments, and who had coined these things into money in their presence. Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable in two years. It was ordered that the kings, princes, and free cities should make additional contributions according to their means, respectively.

7. While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Cæsar. To these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus. He gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus,[1] which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them harshly. He made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to see him he gave Ægina in exchange for Tenos, and also Icos, Cea, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cœle-Syria, Palestine, Ituræa, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed

[1] Myndus was a town on the coast of Caria. Probably a small island lying in front of it is here referred to.

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713 heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between 41
kings and cities, — in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisinna, awarding the kingdom to Sisinna on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who appeared to him to be a beautiful woman. In Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another.

8. Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labors in avenging Cæsar. Instead of apologizing she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had been enamoured of her long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

9. Straightway Antony's interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus,[1] Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death. Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant who, when Ptolemy,

[1] The temple of Artemis Leucophryne was at Magnesia, not Miletus. Strabo (xiv. i. 40) says that, although inferior in size to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, it far surpassed the latter in beauty of design. Its remains were excavated in 1891–1893 for the German Archæological Institute. See note on this temple in Frazer's *Pausanias*, ii. 328.

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713 the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with 41
Cæsar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Aradians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called Megabyzus,[1] and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusations against its inhabitants, that, being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia and dispose of them in the Roman territory. In fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen, but the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they were expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned around and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

10. It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and Scaurus was appointed prætor over it. After Scaurus the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who made war against the Alexandrians, and after Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of Cæsar's death and the intestine strife which followed, tyrants got possession of the cities one by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians, who made an irrup-

[1] Strabo (xiv. i. 24) tells us that the generic name of the priests of the temple was "Megalobyzi," that they were eunuchs, that they were held in high honor, and that they were obliged to have virgins as their colleagues in the priesthood.

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713 tion into Syria after the disaster to Crassus and coöperated 41
with the tyrants. Antony drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia. He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses and committed the outrage already mentioned against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

11. She gave him a magnificent reception, and he spent the winter there without the insignia of his office and with the habit and mode of life of a private person, either because he was in a foreign jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion. He laid aside the cares and duties of a general, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests, which they call the *phæcasium*. He went out only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in Alexandria was wholly devoted. Such was the state of affairs with Antony.

Chapter II

Octavius returns to Rome — Consternation among the Italians — Confiscation and Division of the Land — Beginning of Trouble with Lucius Antonius — Outrages committed by the Soldiers — Octavius powerless to prevent them — The Killing of Nonius — Insubordination and Desertion, and the Causes thereof

12. As Octavius was journeying to Rome he became dangerously ill at Brundusium, and a rumor gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavius the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavius transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the

Y.R. 713 remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. The soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valor. The cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; but there was no money. They came to Rome in crowds, young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established so that democracy should never again lift its head, — colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted. B.C. 41

13. Octavius explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbors in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease when Octavius rebuked them and made them numerous other presents. They were contemptuous in the knowledge that their rulers needed them to confirm their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the control of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm hold unless the givers had a strong government,[1] they fought for them with

[1] *ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες.* Schweighäuser detected a lacuna after the word *βεβαίως*, which he was enabled to fill by comparing the passage with a similar one in Book I., Sec. 96 *supra*,

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713 good-will, necessarily. Octavius made many other gifts to 41 the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him. The greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake.

14. Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavius, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favor of the soldiers. As this could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavius should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavius exclusively. They made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present.[1] They brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in envious terms, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its maximum, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavius' illness. Although Octavius was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favor to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's

viz.: "As they [the soldiers] could not be secure in their own holdings unless all of Sulla's affairs were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions," etc. He accordingly filled the gap with the words *ἐπικρατήσοντες εἰ μὴ βεβαίως*.

[1] *ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ*. The meaning of these words, according to Schweighäuser, is that Antony's friends complained that Octavius was forestalling Antony in the affections of the soldiers during his absence. In his opinion, words should be inserted after *ὡς* to express this idea. Suggestions for filling the gap have been made by both Bekker and Mendelssohn, but they did not change the text.

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713 legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear 41
more favorable to the soldiers than Octavius was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from other communities, neighbors of the dispossessed ones, suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, and crying out against Octavius, saying that the colonization was worse than the proscription, since the latter was directed against foes, while the former was against inoffensive persons.

15. Octavius knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it. There was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators,[1] nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies. Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army. The soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavius had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They gathered around Octavius as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related what had

[1] Among the dispossessed were the poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius. Vergil's property was seized after the battle of Philippi, but was restored, as he relates in the first *Eclogue*. It was seized a second time after the siege of Perusia, and this time it was not restored, but he was compensated with land elsewhere. Horace's paternal estate was seized after, and in consequence of, the battle of Philippi, in which he took part on the republican side (*Epistles*, ii. 2. 50). It was not restored to him, but he was compensated for the loss in other ways by the influence of Mæcenas, to whom he was introduced by Vergil and Varius (*Satires*, i. 6. 55).

Y.R. 713 taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre.[1] B.C. 41

16. Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavius delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavius' illness, not his disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant. Then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavius was about to pass along. The friends of Octavius advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded. They repented and were ashamed of their importunity. They condemned themselves and asked him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honored with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations.

17. Let these two instances serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen; that their armies were not drawn

[1] Suetonius (*Aug.* 14) relates this incident in the theatre. He says that Octavius narrowly escaped with his life, and was saved only by the sudden appearance of the man safe and sound.

Y.R. 713 from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, B.C. 41
nor for the benefit of their country; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises; not against the common enemy, but against private foes; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favor and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a similar cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that one could serve his country in any party. Understanding these facts the generals tolerated this behavior, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions.

Chapter III

Famine in Rome — Lucius Antonius espouses the Cause of the Citizens against the Triumvirs — An Arbitration between Lucius and Octavius — The Trouble breaks out afresh — Preparations for War between Lucius and Octavius — Another Arbitration proposed — The Negotiations fruitless — Growing Power of Sextus Pompeius — Situation of Affairs in Africa — Beginning of Hostilities — Octavius seeks Peace — Ineffectual Embassy to Lucius

18. Now famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Many robberies were committed by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than rob-

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713 bery which went unpunished, and which were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands. 41

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavius. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to, the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance; and they promised to carry out his orders. Antony's soldiers, and Octavius also, blamed him for working against Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavius was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great éclat with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavius' cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavius to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavius replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonius footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

20. When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavius at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms:

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713 That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share; that neither Antony nor Octavius should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavius in the campaign against Pompeius; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavius into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, and Salvidienus crossed the Alps unhindered.[1] 41

21. As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Præneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavius, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he (Lucius) was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lucius, saying now that she had fears for her children on account of Lepidus. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavius. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision; and they summoned Lucius and his

[1] καὶ Σαλβιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τὰς Ἄλπεις. The Latin version of Geslen rendered this passage: "Salvidienus crossed the Alps in spite of the forces guarding them," which is certainly a forced interpretation. Schweighäuser pointed out that it was contrary to the agreement just made, viz., that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces of Octavius. He accordingly considered the passage corrupt and put a lacuna after the word αὐτῳ. Mendelssohn changes the words ἄκων αὐτῷ to ἀκολύτως (unhindered), a correction which removes all difficulties.

Y.R. 713 friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavius reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to accept the arbitration of themselves, or of the officers, whatever the decision might be.[1] B.C. 41

22. Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavius was, by his favors, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy; that in fraud of Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favor with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers

[1] According to Dion Cassius (xlviii. 4–10), Fulvia was the life and soul of this uprising. "She girded herself with a sword, gave the watchwords to the soldiers, and often harangued them." Velleius (ii. 74) says: "Lucius Antonius, a partaker of his brother's vices, but destitute of the virtues that the latter sometimes showed, by accusing Octavius before the veterans, and by calling to arms those who had lost their fields in the prescribed distribution of the lands and the naming of the colonies, had collected a large army. On the other hand Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who was a woman in nothing but her form, took part in the contest, and threw everything into armed strife and tumult. She had first fixed the seat of war at Præneste." Plutarch says that when Antony had left Alexandria to make an expedition against the Parthians, and had gone as far as Phœnicia, he received dolorous letters from Fulvia, which caused him to turn about and set sail for Italy with two hundred ships. "While making the voyage he learned from friends who were fleeing that Fulvia had been the cause of the war, being by nature restless and headstrong, and hoping to tear Antony away from Cleopatra by stirring up commotion in Italy." (*Life of Antony*, 30.)

Y.R. 713 outright; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he B.C. 41
should give his reasons for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavius could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what was done by the other. When Octavius saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, he made similar preparations on his own side.

23. Two legions of the army which had been colonized at Ancona and which had served under the elder Cæsar and under Antony, hearing of their respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavius replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavius to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Præneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavius, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision some of them were killed. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavius and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations full of bitterness against each other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others

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713 belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus. These were all in Italy. Octavius had four legions at Capua and some prætorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain.[1] Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. War was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavius except Sardinia, for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks — from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus, and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money. 41

25. The affairs of Octavius were in disorder outside of Italy also. Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonizing of the soldiers, and the dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, and who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and a full complement of men. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large sum of money, and eighty ships. He also sent after the other army[2] from Cephalenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was afflicted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might have mastered it. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed of that also.

26. In Africa Sextius, Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavius. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it

[1] The text says "*from* Spain," but this is obviously a copyist's error, since we read at the beginning of Sec. 27 that Octavius hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march *to* Spain.

[2] The remains of the army of Brutus and Cassius.

Y.R. 713 he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavius' procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundusium, captured some of the triremes of Octavius, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory. B.C. 41

27. Octavius sent a legion of soldiers to Brundusium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavius and Lucius sent recruiting officers throughout Italy, who had skirmishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of the Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonies. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavius, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonized soldiers joined Octavius. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war.

28. Though these events were taking place, Octavius, nevertheless, convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows: "I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand. I am strong in all respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens

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713 in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will be announced to us not from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I protest that I have done Antony no wrong. Nor have I suffered any wrong from him. I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice. I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius." 41

29. So spake Octavius. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Præneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavius was practising deception; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundusium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away without transacting their business. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavius, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavius set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the optimates then showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs.

Chapter IV

War begun — Lucius declares his Intention to restore the Republic — Lucius seeks to intercept Salvidienus — Is prevented by Agrippa — Lucius is besieged in Perusia — He there awaits Reënforcements — His Reënforcements cut off — Lucius makes a Sally, and is driven back — Lucius' Lieutenants fail to assist him — Famine in Perusia — No Food allowed to Slaves — Lucius attempts to break out — Lucius defeated after desperate Fighting — He begins to entertain Thoughts of Surrender

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30. The following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and started to revolt. Both Octavius and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reënforcement to Lucius, Octavius fell upon his rear guard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavius did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavius. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavius and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, and establishing the government of their fathers in place of a tyranny.

31. All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavius, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, a quæstor of Antony, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for

Y.R. 713 that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavius to the prejudice of their common sway; whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavius. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavius with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavius, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that Lucius would turn from Salvidienus against himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles. B.C. 41

32. When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him. So he turned aside to Perusia,[1] a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavius advanced against him and against Perusia and enclosed them with three armies, and Octavius summoned reënforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they did not altogether approve of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, for so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the

[1] The modern Perugia.



AGRIPPA

Museum of the Louvre (Duruy)

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713 aid of the besieged, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse 41
to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perusia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

33. Octavius, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of circumvallation around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, so that nothing could be introduced into the place. Lucius built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reënforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavius' legions, which was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's preference), in order to raise the blockade, Octavius and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated, — Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavius stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavius had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

34. When the work of Octavius was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations before-

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713 hand.[1] Knowing this fact Octavius kept the most vigilant 41 watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavius himself with some prætorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find.

714 35. Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while 40 Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower the forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium,[2] distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavius and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia were rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight, around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city

[1] Dion Cassius (xlviii. 14) says that the place had been sufficiently provisioned.

[2] The modern Foligno.

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714 and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they 40
could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

36. As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardor, saying, "In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death." All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be thrown to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.[1]

37. The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something important in their desperation had not the fact become known to Octavius that they had not many such machines, and had not the best of his reserves been brought to the assistance of the tired men. These fresh troops flung the

[1] The text here is hopelessly corrupt.

Y.R. 714 assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their voices had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavius joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they could not. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant. B.C. 40

38. This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavius stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavius for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavius was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

Chapter V

Lucius addresses his Soldiers on the Subject of Surrender — Sends Envoys to Octavius — Makes a Personal Visit to Octavius — What Lucius said to him — Lucius surrenders unconditionally — Reply of Octavius — The Soldiers of the Two Armies embrace each other — Octavius pardons Lucius and all except a Few Leaders — Perusia destroyed by Fire

Y.R. 714 39. Accordingly, having made a sort of test which gave him encouragement, Lucius called his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavius falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavius in order to make war against us as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals.[1] It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my B.C. 40

[1] Ventidius, Asinius, and Plancus.

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714 country. Such an end would make my fame glorious after 40 my high purposes. To that destiny I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger."

40. After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavius, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavius, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were colonized veterans, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.

41. These personal enemies of Octavius, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of the country. Lucius in pity commended them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavius

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714 his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. 40
There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and distinguished by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavius understood and imitated his example, showing his intended goodwill toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavius anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

42. When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I were a foreigner waging war against you, Octavius, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. Since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, in a matter appertaining to our common country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak otherwise.

43. "I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you, but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because

Y.R. 714 Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the customs of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone; not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice in the war you were waging. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it. B.C. 40

44. "While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you heretofore and what I still think. So much for myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army, if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those

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714 who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous 40
or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rules there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I would not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favor for myself in an underhand way."

45. After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavius said: "When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my intrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself and your friends and your army without conditions, you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me." These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language.[1] They then separated, and Octavius eulogized and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavius for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gath-

[1] Probably the Memoirs here mentioned are those of Octavius himself, to which reference is made in *Illyr.* 14, and in *B. C.* iv. 110.

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714 ered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the speakers. 40

46. Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavius. They took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavius himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night. The next morning Octavius offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavius as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavius had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavius had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them. It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius' men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavius in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

47. For this reason Octavius did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: "You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion. I intended to ask the old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you, what they have suffered at our hands, or what favor they have asked in vain, or what greater favors they expected from anybody else, that they

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714 have taken up arms against me, against you, against themselves. 40 All the trouble I have met with has grown out of the division of the lands, in which they had their share. And now if you will permit me I will ask them these questions." They would not allow him to do so, but continued their beseeching. "I grant what you wish," he said. "They are dismissed without punishment for their wrongdoing, provided they will hereafter be like-minded with you." They promised on both sides with acclamations and thanks to Octavius, who allowed some of his own men to entertain some of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder to pitch their tents where they had been stationed, at a certain distance from the others, until he should assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons to lead them thither.

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavius summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavius placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavius, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honor and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded those Perusians to come forward who had stretched out their hands to him from the walls, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them. The councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Æmilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Cæsar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt.

49. Octavius intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames. A strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple

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714 of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned 40
for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavius made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were chiefly the personal enemies of Octavius, namely, Canutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the siege of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.[1]

CHAPTER VI

The Armies of Asinius, Plancus, and Ventidius — Octavius gains Possession of the Army of Calenus — Antony's Wife and Mother join him at Athens — Octavius begins to suspect Antony — He holds a Conversation on the Subject with Lucius — Antony sets Sail for Italy — Meets Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic — Antony arrives at Brundusium and lays Siege to it — Octavius marches thither — Antony sends to Macedonia to bring his Army — The Soldiers of the Two Armies fraternize — Death of Fulvia

50. Now Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined

[1] "Some writers say that 300 persons of the two orders, chosen from those who had surrendered [at Perusia], were slaughtered as sacrificial victims on the Ides of March before an altar erected to Cæsar." (Suetonius, *Aug.* 15.) Velleius (ii. 75) and Dion Cassius (xlviii. 15) relate a circumstance of a more romantic nature. The former says that the leader of the outbreak in Campania was Tiberius Claudius Nero. When the revolt was subdued, he fled with his wife Livia, who carried in her bosom their son, then two years of age, and all escaped to Sicily. Livia afterwards became the wife of Octavius, and this infant became the Emperor Tiberius. "Who," exclaims the historian, "can sufficiently wonder at the changes of fortune and at the mutability of human affairs?" Tiberius Nero had been a suitor for the hand of Cicero's daughter Tullia at the time when Dolabella obtained it. (*Ad Att.* vi. 6.)



Livia as Priestess of Augustus
From Pompeii, in the Museum at Naples

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714 troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundusium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavius followed them, offering terms of peace, and harassing those who refused, especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia fled with her children to Dicæarchia,[1] and thence to Brundusium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundusium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy. 40

51. Octavius was planning to get possession of another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died. Octavius, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were Antony's provinces.[2] Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified, and delivered everything over to him without a fight. Octavius, having acquired eleven legions

[1] The Greek name of the modern Pozzuoli. It was called Puteoli by the Romans. (Strabo, V. iv. 6.)

[2] There is some confusion here. Spain was not one of Antony's provinces. It had been assigned to Lepidus in the original division (iv. 2 *supra*). It had been taken from him by Antony and Octavius (v. 3), and the latter administered it by proxy (v. 26). Lepidus had received Africa in exchange (v. 12). How the discrepancy is to be explained is not clear. Mendelssohn suggests a lapse of memory on the part of the author.

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714 of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome. 40

52. As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and concealed his intentions. In the spring he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundusium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance between them against Octavius. Antony replied that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavius he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavius should adhere to their agreements he would endeavor to reconcile him with Pompeius. Such was his answer.

53. When Octavius returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, the reputation he had gained at Philippi having made him popular. Octavius considered himself far superior to Antony, to Pompeius, and to Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had no ships and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while he had the choice of many virgins in marriage,

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714 he wrote to Mæcenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia,[1] the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavius without delay. Then Octavius, on various pretexts, sent away, to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were under suspicion. 40

54. Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude if, after meeting such a favor from himself, he should now refuse to confess concerning the aims of Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favor of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I would go to join him, either openly or secretly, and would fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. If he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you are not trying to establish a monarchy. I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family." So spake Lucius. Octavius, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would intrust to Lucius, because

[1] Suetonius says that Scribonia had already been married twice to men of consular rank, and had been a mother by one of them. (*Aug.* 62.)

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714 he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, which were now under the command of his lieutenants, Peducæus and Lucius.[1] So Octavius dismissed Lucius with honor, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants. 40

55. Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Corcyra into the Adriatic[2] with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Cæsar's murderers, and had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavius at the time of the battle of Philippi.[3] Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than to be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and continued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore

[1] Section 26 tells us that Spain was under the command of Carinas as the lieutenant of Octavius. This fact led Freinshem to conjecture that his name was Lucius Carinas, and that the latter part of the name had in some way dropped out. Schweighäuser did not fully accept this explanation, but in his Latin version put Carinas in a parenthesis after Lucius. Probably an absent-minded copyist, who, from frequent writing of the word Lucius, had got it fixed in his thoughts, wrote it here where he should have written Carinas.

[2] Sicyon was the chief town of the small district of Sicyonia in the northeast of the Peloponnesus. Corcyra was the name of the modern Corfu.

[3] ἐν Φιλίπποις: literally, at Philippi. Combes-Dounous renders it "At the time of the battle of Philippi," and this is necessary unless we expunge a considerable part of Book IV., which narrates the movements of Murcus and Ahenobarbus with their fleet. Section 115 says that they fought a naval battle in the Adriatic against Domitius Calvinus on the very day of the first battle at Philippi.

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714 the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lictor, who stood on the prow as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Palœis,[1] where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony. 40

56. From thence they sailed to Brundusium, which was garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavius' troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant. Considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavius' garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbor. Now the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbor, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius to move against Italy with his fleet and to do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavius, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia.[2] Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry.

[1] The best authorities consider this the town of Valetium, or Baletium, on the coast of Calabria, not far from Brundusium.

[2] Sipuntum was in Apulia. The word Ausonia was an old Greek designation applied vaguely to southern Italy.

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714 57. Octavius, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succor the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what had happened had been done at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavius was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundusium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavius into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavius. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundusium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events. 40

58. Antony was enabled by means of his intrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers. He summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime he resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, which returned, one after another, the next day, in sight of Octavius, bearing armed men, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavius, since he was not able to defend them. Toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavius with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Uria, threw them into a

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714 panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to 40
Brundusium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as an invincible man still inspire terror.

59. Antony's prætorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavius in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves, they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundusium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him. The others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundusium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Cæsar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavius' men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavius, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavius against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works. While these events were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick, and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

Chapter VII

The Mediation of Lucius Cocceius between Antony and Octavius — Interview between Cocceius and Octavius — Cocceius argues for Antony's Rectitude — Octavius writes to Antony's Mother — Antony and Octavius reconciled — They make a New Partition of the World — Antony marries Octavia

Y.R. 714 60. There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with Cæcina, by Octavius, the previous summer, to Antony in Phœnicia, and had remained with Antony after Cæcina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavius for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavius which he could convey. Antony replied: "What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Cæcina. Take copies of those if you like." This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavius an enemy after his generous behavior toward Lucius and Antony's other friends. But Antony replied: "He has shut me out of Brundusium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavius. B.C. 40

61. When Octavius saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. "I did not save your brother," he exclaimed, "in order that you should be my enemy."[1] Cocceius replied, "How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?" "It was

[1] Schweighäuser understood the words "your brother" to refer to Lucius Antonius as though Octavius were addressing Cocceius as Antony's legate. Mendelssohn shows by a reference to Borghesi that the person referred to was M. Cocceius Nerva, Antony's proquæstor.

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714 not fitting," replied Octavius, "that after the death of Calenus such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry have actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Cocceius; "but Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundusium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavius, "nor did I know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundusians themselves and the præfect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who has been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundusium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy." 40

62. "But it was agreed between you," said Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honor than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers. The vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those days.[1] If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius,

[1] *οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν.* Casaubon was of the opinion that this should be rendered: "for he was not then a member of the Senate." It all depends upon the interpretation of *τῆς βουλῆς*, and it must be said that Appian does not generally use *βουλή* for plot, or conspiracy, but does almost invariably use it for the Senate. Suetonius (*Nero*, 3) says that this Domitius Ahenobarbus, although condemned by the Pedian Law, among those who were privy to the murder of Cæsar, was innocent of that crime.

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714 not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure 40
his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony." Octavius repeated his accusations, saying, "Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony." Cocceius replied, "Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you agree to peace." Octavius, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, "But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves." Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife's death. "Now that she is dead," he continued, "it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are."

63. In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavius and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavius said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honor by Octavius,[1] she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his artful way of opening a correspondence

[1] Plutarch informs us that Antony's mother, Julia, was of the family of the Cæsars and the equal in virtue and amiability of the most exemplary women of her time. (*Life of Antony*, 2.) Her father, Lucius Cæsar, had been consul in the year 664 and her brother of the same name had held that office in 690.



OCTAVIA

Cameo owned by M. le Baron Roger (Duruy)

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714 by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the 40
camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until a treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian *gens*. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

64. When Octavius' soldiers learned these facts they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as the common friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Mæcenas from that of Octavius. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavius for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavius' sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavius embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

65. Now Octavius and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf.[1] All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river

[1] So that a line drawn through it from east to west would divide the Adriatic into two equal parts.

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714 Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to 40
the ocean to Octavius. Lepidus was to govern Africa, as Octavius had given it to him. Octavius was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavius was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers. These were the last conditions of peace between Octavius and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles.[1] What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history.

66. In the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavius, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavius was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavors to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavius the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavius' army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundusium. This secret Antony

[1] Dion Cassius (xlviii, 24) says that this Labienus, the son of Cæsar's lieutenant in the Gallic war, "while serving in the army with Brutus and Cassius was sent to Orodes, the king of the Parthians, before the battle of Philippi, to solicit aid. He was treated disdainfully and kept waiting a long time by this prince, who hesitated to comply, yet feared to refuse. When the news came that Brutus and Cassius were defeated and that the victors were not likely to spare any of their antagonists, he remained with the barbarians, preferring life with them to death at home. This Labienus, when he heard of Antony's indolence, of his passion for Cleopatra, and his departure for Egypt, persuaded the Parthians to attack the Romans." They were soon afterward crushed by Ventidius.

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714 revealed, not with universal approbation, but because of 40
his frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavius instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome, pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavius confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

CHAPTER VIII

Sextus Pompeius cuts off the Supply of Corn — Famine in Rome — Riot in the Forum — Octavius is stoned by the Mob and rescued by Antony — Negotiations with Sextus Pompeius — Sextus puts Murcus to Death — Sextus goes to Puteoli, and has a Conference with Antony and Octavius — They come to an Agreement — Banquets on Shipboard and on Shore — Great Rejoicing at Rome — Antony returns to the East — Spends the Winter in Athens

67. Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. There was great dearness of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavius would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for

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714 which reason the proscriptions and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property. They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, until the whole populace was aroused. 40

68. Octavius with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favor of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attack from the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the house-tops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and snatched Octavius from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house.[1] The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid a shocking spectacle. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property. This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the trium-

[1] *καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν* Καίσαρα *περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσεν*: possibly the words *οὗτος* (*this man*) and *τότε* (*then*) are intended to emphasize the contrast between the present relations of Antony and Octavius, and what transpired later.

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714 virs. The famine grew worse. The people groaned, but did not stir. 40

715 69. Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law,[1] and to accomplish something more important; and he promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Ænaria.[2] When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavius with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also threatened to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, if she did not communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavius and Antony went to Baiæ. 39

70. All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with Murcus lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, Murcus retired in disgust to Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of Murcus, and induced them to kill him and to say that he had been mur-

[1] ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους; Musgrave suggested συνθέσει (*an agreement*) instead of συνησθήσει (*congratulation*), and Mendelssohn concurs, but does not change the text.

[2] The modern Ischia.

Y.R. 715 dered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime, — the next one committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus, — Murcus having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius in Spain, and had joined him in Sicily voluntarily. Such was the death of Murcus. B.C. 39

71. His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master[1] as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Ænaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavius and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, but not preventing them from hearing each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscripts and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Cæsar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest an honorable recall to their homes, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavius and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote

[1] Menodorus was a freedman. He had been a slave of Pompey the Great. See Sec. 79 *infra*. Dion Cassius, Plutarch, and Velleius give him the name of Menas.

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715 to this effect to the proscripts themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Murcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he had been betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as his most competent officer and his only friend. 39

72. Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavius, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored around it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms: That the war should cease on both land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not assail with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavius should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been previously required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition; that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the priesthood of the first rank. Such were the conditions accorded to Pompeius himself. Members of the nobility who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of court for participation in the murder of Gaius Cæsar. The property of those who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, should all be restored except movables. Proscripts should receive one fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius should be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavius and Antony.

73. Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be

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715 placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they 39
entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony. The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On succeeding days Antony and Octavius gave banquets in tents pitched on the mole, on the pretext that thus all might participate, but perhaps really for their better security and to quiet apprehensions; for they did not even then neglect precautions. Their ships were moored alongside and guards were stationed around them, and the banqueters were girded with concealed daggers. It is said that, while the three were feasting in the ship, Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs of his father and his brother, and to avail himself of this most favorable occasion to resume the sway that his father had exercised, saying that he, with his own ships, would take care that nobody should escape; but that Pompeius replied, in a manner worthy of his family and his position, "Would that Menodorus had done this without my knowledge. False swearing may become Menodorus, but not Pompeius."[1] At this banquet the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of Antony and nephew of Octavius. On the following day they designated the consuls for the next four years, viz., for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked in his own place; next Octavius and Pompeius; next Ahenobarbus and Sossius; and, finally, Antony and Octavius again; and as they would then have been consuls the third time it was expected that they would restore the government to the people.

74. Having finished this business they separated, Pom-

[1] Plutarch relates this tale in nearly the same language. He says that "while the banquet was at its height, and they were cracking jokes about Cleopatra and Antony, Menas the pirate approached Pompeius, and whispered to him so that the others could not hear: 'Do you wish me to cut loose from the ship's anchors and make you master, not of Sicily and Sardinia only, but of the whole Roman empire?' Pompeius, after hearing him, waited a brief space, and said: 'O Menas, you might have done so without telling me beforehand! Now we must be satisfied with present conditions, for I cannot break my oath.'" (*Life of Antony*, 32.)



SEXTUS POMPEIUS

Museum of the Louvre (Duruy)

Y.R. 715 peius going to Sicily by sea, Octavius and Antony to Rome B.C. 39 by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. As the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honor as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only ones disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

75. After these events Octavius set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates; in Idumea and Samaria, Herod; in Pisidia, Amyntas; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were forever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all within reach, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to

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715 Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command 39
of Sestius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sestius of the command of these troops.

76. Having made these dispositions, he spent the winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and without formal company. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being
716 by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the 38
winter he was like another man. He changed his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion.

CHAPTER IX

Peace broken between Sextus and Octavius — Antony returns to Brundusium —Defection of Menodorus — He delivers Sardinia and Corsica to Octavius — Octavius makes war against Sextus — Sea-Fight at Cumæ between Menodorus and Menecrates — Menodorus wounded and Menecrates killed — The Fleet of Octavius worsted — A Second Victory for Pompeius — Octavius driven ashore and retreats to the Mountains

77. While Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing beween Octavius and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavius, which were the following: Antony had ceded Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from

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716 the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that the former should wait till the collection had been made. Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavius said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships, and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Private robbery again infested the sea, and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavius having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them out, and Octavius proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus. 38

78. Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavius, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia.[1] The freedmen did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus. About the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavius, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavius to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Oc-

[1] ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρῳ Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. All the codices except one omit the words Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς, leaving the passage hopeless. Mendelssohn was so fortunate as to find the true reading in the Vatican MS.

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716 tavius accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about the war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundusium and Puteoli, intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if Antony should agree in opinion with him. 38

79. Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavius there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavius' great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavius not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for the latter had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

80. Octavius sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed, and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook

Y.R. 716 him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which had been built for Octavius himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavius sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus. B.C. 38

81. When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius, with Sabinus and Menodorus, sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavius was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavius at Messana, and ordered his freedman Menecrates, who was the bitterest enemy of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. Menecrates was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They retired into the bay near Cumæ, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Ænaria. At daybreak they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to prevent the enemy from breaking through it. Menecrates again showed himself, and immediately came on with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like infantry contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat.

82. In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove against each other with fury and shouting, as

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716 though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came 38
into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grappling-irons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valor. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passageway for his daring crew, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however, drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

83. This took place on the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Demochares, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own fleeing ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night was approaching, all returned to their former station. Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Demochares, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius' sea captains), abandoned everything[1] and sailed for Sicily im-

[1] ἅπαντα μεθεὶς ἐκ χειρῶν: *abandoned everything.* All the codices read ἐκ κέρων (*from the wings*), which, being nonsense, led to much

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716 mediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole fleet. 38

84. Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demochares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavius, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavius' friends advised him to improve this most favorable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reënforcements. When Demochares arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates.

85. When Octavius heard of his disaster at Cumæ he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance and while he was passing Stylis[1] and turning into Scyllæum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavius' fleet did not give battle, since Octavius did not permit it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. He gave orders, however, that all should hug the shore, cast anchor, and defend themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Demochares, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into con-

conjecture in the learned world. Schweighäuser solved the difficulty by striking them out, and marking a lacuna at that place. Tyrwhitt furnishes a happy solution (see preface to the Didot edition) by substituting χειρῶν for κέρων, so that the phrase is equivalent to "released his hold" in English.

[1] Schweighäuser gives this place the Latin name of Columna Rhegina, which is referred to by Strabo (III. v. 5) as a small tower erected by the inhabitants of Rhegium at the strait of Sicily.

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716 fusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumæ, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.[1] 38

86. Octavius leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Demochares and captured it. The latter leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavius' men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men. This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties.

87. At nightfall, those who had reached the shore from the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavius fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it

[1] One of the mishaps to which ancient manuscripts were exposed is found here. Several codices add to this sentence the words ἔμελλ', ἐπεὶ οὐδέπω κακόν γ' ἀπώλετο, *very likely, since nothing that is bad ever perishes.* Musgrave stamped it as erroneous. Schweighäuser recognized it as an iambic verse from some poet whom he could not recall, and inferred that somebody had written it on the margin of his copy, and that the next copyist had embodied it in the text. So he rejected it. Nauck points out the original in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles (446). It is found in the *editio princeps* of Appian and in the Latin versions of both Candidus and Geslen, whose attempts to reconcile it with the text are ingenious but futile.

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716 was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything needful be obtained from the ships in their wrecked condition. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of the road by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest. 38

Chapter X

Terrible Storm in the Straits of Sicily — Destruction of Octavius' Fleet — Great loss of Life — Octavius retreats to Vibo — Pompeius does not pursue — Octavius appeals to Antony for Aid — Antony comes to his Assistance with Three Hundred Ships — Meeting of Octavius and Antony — Antony returns to his Parthian Expedition — Menodorus deserts to Pompeius

88. The next morning, when Octavius looked out upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others broken in pieces; and the sea filled with sails, rudders, and furniture, while, of the ships that were saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, turning them on their sides,[1] the enemy meantime remaining quiet,

[1] *ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας.* Schweighäuser's Latin version renders this: "He repaired those which especially required attention, sailing in the meantime near the shore on an oblique course." Yet in a note on this passage he inclines to the opinion that *πλαγιάσας* means, not sailing obliquely, but turning the ships on their sides — a more rational method of making repairs. The Didot edition adheres to the former rendering.

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716 either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbor of Messana. The ships of Octavius were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control. 38

89. Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor where, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore. Some of the others followed his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually did in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors on either side, landward and seaward, and thrust out poles to prevent collisions with each other. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were upset on the shore one after another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard. There was no distinction between pilot and common sailor. Knowledge and authority were alike unavailing. The same destruction awaited those in the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber. The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf. When the convulsion seized the water,[1] as is usual in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed to it, and then their vessels were whirled around and dashed against each other worse than ever. As night came on the wind increased in fury, so that they perished no longer in the light but in the darkness.

90. Groans were heard throughout the entire night, and the cries of men running along the shore and calling their friends and relatives upon the sea by name, and mourning

[1] Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπάσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν. This refers to the whirlpool at Charybdis.

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716 for them as lost when they could hear no responses; and anon the cries of others lifting their heads above the waves and beseeching aid from those on shore. Nothing could be done on either land or water. Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but the danger from the storm was almost as great on land, lest the surf should dash them against the rocks. So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest that those who were nearest the land feared the land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid collision with each other, for the narrowness of the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together with the force of the waves, the rotary motion of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains, and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were utterly lost. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavius' ships and men were destroyed by it. 38

91. Octavius, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had

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716 subsided. On the contrary, he paid no attention to the 38
enemy while they were tying their ships together with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favorable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and cared only to defend himself against assailants.

92. Less than half of Octavius' ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent
717 Mæcenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter re- 37
specting the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Mæcenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vesels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa. His friends and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them. Accordingly, Octavius cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones.

718 93. At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from 36
Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavius as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated

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718 with Octavius again, because the expense of his fleet was burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavius' army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavius. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavius complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits. She replied that that had been explained through Mæcenas. Octavius said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him. She replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavia had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavius with permission to put him to torture [in order to learn the truth]. Octavius would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is a river of the latter name between them.[1] 36

94. They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavius, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavius saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavius prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

95. However, Octavius postponed his expedition against

[1] The river Taras.

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718. Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavius 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavius promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the favor from Antony, made her brother a present of ten three-banked phaseli — a combination of war-ship and merchant vessel — and Octavius gave her in return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them. 36

96. But Menodorus, — either because he was an habitual traitor, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return, — now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it, deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavius' admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavius dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place. When the fleet was ready, Octavius performed a lustration for it in the following manner. Altars were erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude were ranged around them in ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who performed the ceremony offered the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carried the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times around the fleet, the general sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet. Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burned them, while the multitude chanted in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet.

Chapter XI

New Expedition against Sextus Pompeius — Lepidus brings a Fleet from Africa — Another Storm damages Octavius' Ships and causes Delay — Sextus fails to take Advantage of these Occurrences — Menodorus turns Traitor again — Surrenders his Ships and himself to Octavius — Disposition of the Forces of Octavius — Disaster to Lepidus on the Sea — Agrippa occupies the Island of Hiera — He attacks the Pompeian Fleet, and wins a Victory

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718 97. It was intended that Octavius should set sail from 36
Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from Tarentum, to Sicily, in order to surround the enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. The day of Octavius' sailing had been previously communicated to all. It was the tenth day after the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar, was the calends of the month which, in honor of the first Cæsar, they call July instead of Quintilis. Octavius fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered it propitious on account of his father, who was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plennius at Lilybæum with one legion and a considerable body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and west, and especially the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbors and naval stations for Octavius and Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval force he kept together at Messana watching its chances. In this way they made their preparations on either side.

98. When the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavius sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Neptune, the guardian, and to the tranquil sea, that they should be his assistants against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius

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718 with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the 36
third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plennius in Lilybæum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavius took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a southwester, which threw the bay into commotion, as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and the confusion became worse confounded by night.

99. When the tempest had subsided, Octavius buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnicas had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships that he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Mæcenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavius himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Thence he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet,

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718 the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand. 36

100. Pompeius did not deign to seize the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of Neptune. He hoped that Octavius would now desist from his undertaking, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavius and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was intrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

101. Conceiving that, however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valor, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and sailed, by rowing three days, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavius' shipyards, and darted away to an unseen place carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes. He also sunk, or captured, or burned some merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavius and Agrippa being absent. The latter had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus ran his ship upon the soft ground, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains as to a certain prey, when he backed away, laughing, and left the soldiers of Octavius

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718 the victims of both chagrin and astonishment. When he 36 had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebillus, having a view already to the future.

102. During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavius, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavius, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harass the forces of Octavius as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated on account of the baseness of the transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavius. Menodorus at once deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavius, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavius conceded his safety on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

103. When the fleet was ready Octavius set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there. He sent three legions to Stylis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail around from Tarentum to Mount Scy-

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718 lacium, which is opposite Tauromenium.[1] Taurus did so, 36
having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, the cavalry reconnoitring by land and the liburnicas by sea. While he was making this movement Octavius, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing-places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

104. Such were the preparations of Octavius and Pompeius in this quarter. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus later, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for other enemies and fled. So some of them were burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions reëmbarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius.

105. Octavius crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle,[2] one of the five Æolian islands, having made a reconnoissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylæ, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hiera, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it

[1] The geography here is in confusion. Mount Scylacium is not opposite Tauromenium. Mendelssohn considers the text corrupt.

[2] The modern Stromboli.

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718 and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylæ, 36
Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa, and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

106. Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hiera before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias[1] only. When he saw the fleet of Apollophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavius at once that Pompeius was at Mylæ with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavius were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavius, but the latter were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, in breaking oar blades and rudders, cutting off oar handles, or separating the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavius sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the corvus[2] and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians, whenever they were overpowered in this

[1] This is evidently a copyist's mistake for Demochares. The preceding section says that Demochares was in Agrippa's front, and Dion Cassius (xlix. 2) tells us that the battle that took place here was between Agrippa and Demochares. Suetonius (*Aug.* 16) adds the name of Apollophanes.

[2] The corvus was a framework with a hook at its extremity. It was

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718 manner, leaped into the sea and were picked up by their 36 small boats, which were hovering around for this purpose.

107. Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking a hole in the keel. The men in the towers were shaken down, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reënforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits.

108. Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary; but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbors, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships; and he rewarded them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they were lighter, they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on account of the current. He said also that he would make some addition to the height of his ships. Such was the result of the naval battle at Mylæ between Agrippa and Papias.

carried in an upright position on the prow and worked by a hinge at the bottom, and was used for the same purpose as the grappling-irons, to seize and hold fast the enemy's ships.

Chapter XII

Octavius crosses the Straits and demands the Surrender of Tauromenium — He is suddenly attacked by Pompeius by Land and Sea — Octavius' Fleet is beaten and dispersed — Cornificius is left in Camp near Tauromenium — Octavius escapes to the Shore and rallies his Land Forces — Cornificius marches across Sicily — Terrible Sufferings of his Troops — He is rescued by Agrippa — Octavius effects a Lodgement on the Northern Coast of Sicily — An Eruption of Mount Etna — Pompeius challenges Octavius to a Naval Engagement — The Challenge is accepted — A Stubborn and Protracted Contest — Agrippa gains the Victory — Pompeius flees to Messana — He departs from Sicily — Lepidus plunders Messana

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718 109. Pompeius suspected that Octavius had gone to the 36 camp of Taurus for the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was the fact. So, directly after supper, he sailed to Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylæ so that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa, as soon as his army was sufficiently rested, bestirred himself and set sail for Tyndaris, which had offered to surrender. He entered the town, but the garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some other towns espoused his cause and received his garrisons, and he returned that evening. In the meantime, Octavius had sailed from Scylacium to Leucopetra,[1] having learned for a certainty that Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylæ on account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night, but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind, thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage, but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still confronting Agrippa. Looking down from the mountains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the

[1] The modern *Capo dell' Armi*.

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718 Naxians,[1] intending to pitch his camp there and attack 36 Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

110. When Octavius disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet — an astounding spectacle, since Octavius believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side. The forces of Octavius were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavius himself was alarmed because Messala could not join him. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavius' men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavius, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus,[2] while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phœnix.[3] Night coming on they went to rest, and Octavius' soldiers finished their camp, but

[1] The word 'Αρχηγέτης means the Founder, *i.e.*, the founder of a colony. It was applied here to the god Apollo, in whose honor an altar and a small statue had been erected at Naxos (the modern *Capo di Schiso*), in Sicily. Immediately following this word in all the codices are the words ἀξιῶν τὸν θεὸν, in which Musgrave detected an error for Ναξίων τὸν θεὸν (the god of the Naxians). Schweighäuser was of the opinion that these words had been written as a marginal note on some copy and afterwards introduced into the text. Cluver in his *Sicilia Antiqua* points out an explanatory passage in Thucydides (vi. 3. 1) of the following tenor: "The Chalcideans were the first of the Greeks who sailed from Eubœa, under the leadership of Theucles, and built Naxos and erected the altar to Apollo Archegetes, which now stands outside of the town, upon which the Theori, as often as they make voyages from Sicily, first offer sacrifice." The river Onobalas is now called the *Cantara*.

[2] No promontory, or place, of this name is mentioned by any other ancient author, whose works have reached us.

[3] This also is an unknown place, except as it is here mentioned. There was a Phœnicus Portus in Sicily, but it was too far distant from Tauromenium to be of service as here described.

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718 were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. 36
They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet.

111. Octavius placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carcius, and embarking himself on a liburnica, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavius' ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

112. Octavius spent the greater part of the night among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbor of Abala with a single armor-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him suffering in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he despatched a liburnica to Cornificius, and sent word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that

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718 he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his 36
own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Stylis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail for Lipara,[1] to which place he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Mæcenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the so-called first legion to Vibo.

113. This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact in honor of Roman magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander. Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled darts from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

114. On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the streams in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and

[1] Lipara was one of the Æolian islands lying north of Hiera, where Agrippa was stationed.

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718 his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure the daytime, because of suffocation. Moreover, the bottoms of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer. On account of the tormenting thirst they could not delay. They could no longer charge upon their assailants, but received wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and barefooted companions, dashed at the defiles with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defiles occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely. 36

115. While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as they had been all the time hoping for something of this kind, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength. When the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess. Some who neglected this advice died while drinking. In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and what was left of his army, escape to Agrippa at Mylæ.[1]

116. Agrippa had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither Octavius transported his infantry and cavalry. He

[1] Dion Cassius (xlix. 6–7) gives an account, in many respects similar to this, of the terrible sufferings of Cornificius and his command in their march through Sicily, until rescued by Agrippa. The words "at Mylæ" should be expunged. A few lines below we read that the garrison of Pompeius still held Mylæ, and a little later that it was taken from him by Octavius.

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718 had in Sicily all together twenty-one legions of the former, 36
20,000 of the latter, and more than 5000 light-armed troops. The garrison of Pompeius still held Mylæ, and all the places from Mylæ to Naulochi and Pelorus, and all the coast. These garrisons, in fear of Agrippa, kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them. Pompeius was also master of the defiles on both sides of the island. The mountain passes in the neighborhood of Tauromenium and around Mylæ were fortified by him, and he harassed Octavius when the latter was making a forward movement from Tyndaris, but not coming to an engagement. Believing that Agrippa was moving his fleet against him, Pompeius changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylæ; and Octavius occupied them and also Mylæ and Artemisium, a very small town, in which, they say, were the cattle of the Sun and where Ulysses fell asleep.[1]

117. When the report of Agrippa's movement turned out to be false, Pompeius was troubled that he had lost the defiles,[2] and he called to his assistance Tisienus with his army. Octavius sought to intercept Tisienus, but lost his way around Mount Myconium. He passed the night there without tents. There was a heavy rainfall, as often occurs in the autumn, and some of his armor-bearers held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh mutterings and prolonged roars from Mount Etna were heard, accompanied by flames which lighted up the camp, so that the Germans sprang from their beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if a torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavius ravaged the territory of the Abacænians,[3] where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana.

[1] *Odyssey*, xii. 338.

[2] *ἡσθεὶς τῶν στενῶν ἀφῃρημένος.* The first of these words implies that Pompeius was delighted that he had lost the defiles. Both Candidus and Geslen took it to be an error for *ᾔσθετο* (perceived). Schweighäuser suggested *ἤχθετο* (was troubled), and this change is approved by Mendelssohn.

[3] The text says "Palestenians," but Cluver gives reasons for considering this an error for Abacænians.

Y.R. 718 118. As there had been many skirmishes throughout B.C. 36 Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavius sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavius if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavius, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the *harpago*, a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the harpago, an iron claw, to the other numerous ropes, which drew the harpago by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

119. When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the crew and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power. The generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The harpago achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, especially when the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not

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718 provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One 36
thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the harpago did its work.

120. Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other completely, and meanwhile the fighting and the sea were a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships. They left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other.

121. Judging from the colors of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavius who were in the ships raised a shout

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718 of victory and those on the land gave an answering shout. 36
Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself, darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving no orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavius received the surrender of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavius' ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground, and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

122. Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on shipboard everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plennius from Lilybæum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plennius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait for Plennius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, whose mother he had saved in similar circumstances. After his departure Plennius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavius himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plennius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival of Octavius, but Lepidus granted terms, and, in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plennius to himself, allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city. They had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards.

CHAPTER XIII

Lepidus lays Claim to Sicily — Octavius tampers with his Troops — Conflict in the Camp of Lepidus — He is deserted by his Soldiers — Lepidus deposed from his Command — Octavius does not pursue Pompeius — Mutiny in the Army — It is suppressed by Octavius — Octavius rewards his Soldiers and returns to Italy — Unbounded Honors bestowed upon him at Rome — He refuses to punish Lepidus — Robbery suppressed — Octavius elected Tribune for Life

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718 123. Including this new accession, Lepidus now had 36
twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry. He was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavius, and he seized all the defiles. Octavius arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavius, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavius, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavius was exasperated. He came to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavius were anchored away from the shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them.

124. The soldiers were angry at the thought of engaging in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavius and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavius, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus. They also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavius learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who

Y.R. 718 feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavius did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavius came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents. B.C. 36

125. When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were exchanged and one of Octavius' armor-bearers was killed. Octavius himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavius was so angry that he could not restrain himself from dashing upon them with his horsemen[1] and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavius, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reënforcements in all directions; but when these very reënforcements went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him. They transferred themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed others to prevent them from going, but the very ones who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavius with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up,

[1] *πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι.* Nauck suggests ἐπελθεῖν for ἐξελεῖν. The latter word is meaningless here.

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718 until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go. 36

126. The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavius to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus was Lepidus deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He changed his costume and hastened to Octavius, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavius started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held. And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favors of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period.[1]

127. Octavius neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavius said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse, and some 40,000 light-armed troops. He also had 600 war-ships and an immense number of merchant vessels, which he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honors to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

128. Fortune became jealous of his great prosperity.[2] His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards

[1] See iv. 50 *supra*.

[2] *Ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσησε τοῦ ζήλου.* Mendelssohn thinks that the words *τοῦ ζήλου* should be expunged.

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718 should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavius knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when the latter should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honors of the previous wars. He said that he would not postpone the honors. So he distributed many prizes, and gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Ofilius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out, "Well said"; whereupon Octavius descended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered around the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them. Ofilius said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause, but after saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him. 36

129. The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but they joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavius conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20,000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only



AUGUSTUS

In the Braccio Nuovo, Vatican Museum, Rome

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718 who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they 36
were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolters, who had been dismissed contrary to the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would be sorry, and that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed proprætors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

130. When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honors, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and distributed in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honors voted to him, he accepted an ovation [1] and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column surrounded by the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription: —

"PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE REËSTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA."

[1] πομπὴν; a procession inferior in splendor and magnitude to a triumph, the latter being awarded only for victories over foreign enemies. This ceremony was concluded with the sacrifice of a sheep (*ovis*), from which the word "ovation" is supposed to be derived.

Y.R. 718 131. When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed upon one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a designated day and to execute the orders contained therein. These orders related to the slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and the treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavius returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded. B.C. 36

132. This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavius was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavius to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavius excited astonishment by having put an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the fathers. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would abdicate entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual magistracy, to give up his former one.[1] This he accepted, and

[1] The true date of his election to the tribuneship, deduced from the testament of Augustus inscribed on the wall of the Augus-

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718 at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference 36
to their government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavius. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavius had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

CHAPTER XIV

Sextus Pompeius flees to Antony — Forms Plans to assist Antony or supersede him according to Circumstances — Sends an Embassy to Antony — Antony sends Titius against him — Antony hears the Ambassadors — He captures the Envoys sent by Pompeius to the Parthians — Double-dealing of Pompeius discovered — He begins Hostilities against Antony's Lieutenants — Antony sends Reënforcements against him — Pompeius deserted by his Friends — A Battle in the Night — Pompeius offers to surrender to Furnius, who refuses to accept him — Pompeius refuses to surrender to Titius — He is captured by Amyntas — He is delivered to Titius, who puts him to Death

133. Pompeius, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Cæsar, had bestowed him with his mother, when he was still a boy, and where his father had recovered him after his defeat. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to intrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been worsted, and this result was confirmed by the reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming with both projects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information

teum at Ancyra, was B.C. 25, *i.e.*, eleven years later than Appian makes it.

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718 about Antony's affairs. At the same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavius, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony. 36

134. As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honor if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the ambassadors who had arrived, and who addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he was without a place of refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account and which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, or, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavius with ships against him), nor would you have been defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavius, not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavius' words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against the latter after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also de-

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718 prived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, 36
and divided no part of it with you.

135. "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for. He would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of good-will, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavius against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you that those soldiers were not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, unless, to be sure, it has already come."

136. When the ambassadors had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he should come in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

719 137. In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the 35
province of Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know

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719 Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he 35
mustered a force from the provincials and hastily summoned Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, colonized there by Gaius Cæsar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because there was a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbor of the Achæans and collected provisions.

138. Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While they were waiting for assistance from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, the inhabitants, who were distressed by continual exactions, enlisted gladly under Pompeius, especially on

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719 account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at 35 the harbor of the Achæans. While Pompeius was deficient in cavalry, and was thus crippled in procuring supplies, he learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop, but Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry.

139. Pompeius took Nicæa and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reënforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that Antony had lent to Octavius against Pompeius; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavius had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony.

140. Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight in a state of nudity. It

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719 is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack 35
with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by a god, he gave no heed to these opportunities, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut off his supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others.

141. Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and nobody supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you have fought against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wished to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done. Why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been intrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honorable manner."

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius as an ingrate, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Be-

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719 sides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity to 35
be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had intrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not been previously advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

143. Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Cæsar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his ene-

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719 mies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most 35
importance was the aid that he rendered to the proscribed in Rome exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with mental aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner.

144. Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Others think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favorable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Still others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the coöperation of Cleopatra, should breed dissension between Antony and Octavius.[1]

145. After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavius made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end), and added them to the history of the neighboring Macedonia.

[1] *φυλαξάμενον μὴ τὴν αἰτίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους διδῷ Πομπήϊος, καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηΐω συνεργοῦσα, ἀναθρέψαιεν.* This sentence has given much trouble to commentators. Schweighäuser rejected the word *διδῷ* altogether.

FRAGMENTA

[At the end of Mendelssohn's edition of Appian are twenty-four *fragmenta*, only two of which are of sufficient length to be worth translating. They are the following:—]

CONCERNING REMUS AND ROMULUS[1]

FROM THE COLLECTION OF MAX. TREU (1880)

1. WHEN Troy was captured on the 8th day of the month of December, Æneas fled to Mount Ida, passing through the Achæans, who gave way to him as he was carrying off his household gods and his family. Others say that it was not that pious sight that saved him, but that Æneas had often urged the barbarians to give Helen back to the Achæans. There, having collected a band of Phrygians,[2] he departed to Laurentum, and having married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, king of the Aborigines, he built a city and named it Lavinium after his wife. Three years later Latinus died, and Æneas succeeded to the kingdom, by virtue of his marriage relationship, and gave the name of Latins to the Aborigines. Three years later still, Mezentius, the king of the Rutuli, engaged in war with him because Lavinia had been previously betrothed to himself, and Æneas was slain.

2. Ascanius then became king in his stead. Despising Lavinium as a paltry town, Ascanius founded another under the Alban mount and named it Alba, which, after it had held sway 300 years, the Romans destroyed, so that not even a foundation was left. Silvius, the third in descent, succeeded Ascanius. Then another Æneas was the fourth, Latinus was the fifth, Capys the sixth, Capetus the

[1] This is a transcript, with slight variations, of the first of the Excerpta "Concerning the Kings."

[2] Mendelssohn considers the text spurious down to this point.

seventh, Tiberinus the eighth, Agrippa the ninth, Romulus the tenth, Aventinus the eleventh, Procas the twelfth, and Numitor and Amulius the thirteenth.

3. The father of these left the kingdom to Numitor as the elder of the two. His brother Amulius dispossessed him and became king. Amulius, fearing vengeance, slew Egestus, Numitor's son, while hunting, and being apprehensive lest the sister of Egestus should bear children he made her a vestal. She became pregnant, as she said, by Mars, while drawing water from a fountain sacred to him, and gave birth to Remus and Romulus. Amulius accordingly incarcerated her and gave the boys to be thrown into the Tiber, which was at that time called the Thubris. The bearers took the boys to the river. They were shepherds, and they placed the basket on the margin of the water where the river was marshy. After they had gone away the water receded and the babes were left on dry land, and a she-wolf stepped into the basket and suckled them. Laurentia, the wife of the shepherd Faustulus . . . They were reared to manhood in the practice of robbery, and Remus was captured while raiding the estates of Numitor, and was brought before Amulius.

4. The latter sent him to his brother Numitor, as the one who had suffered the robbery, to be condemned and punished. But Numitor, when he beheld the young man and reckoned up the time when he was exposed and the other circumstances, began to suspect the truth, and examined him closely as to his bringing up. Romulus became alarmed, and learning from Faustulus the facts concerning himself and his brother, and how his mother had been incarcerated, collected a band of shepherds and with them attacked Amulius, and, having killed him, proclaimed Numitor king of the Albans. Then they built a city on the bank of the river by the side of which they had been exposed and nourished, and where they had practised robbery after they had grown up; and they named it Rome. It was previously called the Tetragon, because its perimeter was sixteen stades, having four stades on each side.

CONCERNING THE DIVINATION OF THE ARABS

From the Same[1]

[Appian says, at the end of his twenty-fourth book:] While I was once fleeing from the Jews, during the war that occurred in Egypt, and was passing through Arabia Petræa to a river where a small boat was waiting to convey me to Pelusium, an Arab was conducting me on my journey by night, and as I thought we were nearing the boat, a raven croaked, just before dawn, and the Arab exclaimed, in alarm, "We have lost our way." Again the raven croaked, and he said, "We are lost completely." While I was troubled and was looking around for a guide, but could find none (as it was still very early in the morning and in a hostile country), the Arab heard the bird a third time, and joyfully exclaimed, "We are lost for our own good, and we shall find our road." I smiled at the idea of our finding our lost road and gave myself up to despair, being surrounded by enemies on all sides and unable to turn back on account of those behind me, to escape whom I had come hither. And so, for want of any other resource, I followed, surrendering myself to the oracle. While I was in this condition another river appeared unexpectedly, one very near to Pelusium, and also a trireme bound for that place, in which I embarked and was saved. The small boat that was waiting for me in the other river was captured by the Jews. So remarkable was the good fortune that I enjoyed and so great was my astonishment at the oracle.

[1] This fragment was first published in the *Revue Archéologique*, in 1869, by C. Miller, from a manuscript not indicated. It appears from the following note of Mendelssohn (ii. 1) that it was known to the monks of Mount Athos earlier: "As regards the matter related to Grævius by a certain Greek named Jeremiah, concerning various unpublished fragments of Appian, which have been preserved on Mount Athos (see Burmann, *ep. syll.* vol. iv. p. 69), he seems to have had in mind the fragment of the twenty-fourth book, published by Miller and more lately by Treu."

These men are very religious, they are skilled in the art of divination, they are tillers of the soil, and they understand the use of drugs. It is probable that, finding good land in Egypt (being agriculturists), and a race like themselves devoted to religion, practising divination, and not inexperienced in drugs and astrology, they were pleased to abide there as among people of like habits with themselves.

THE END.

INDEX[1]

ABBREVIATIONS

Pr. denotes the author's Preface. K. the book concerning the Kings. It. Italy. Sa. the Samnites. G. the Gallic history. Si. Sicily and the Islands. Sp. the Wars in Spain. H. the Hannibalic War. Pu. the Punic Wars. Nu. the Numidian fragments. Ma. Macedonian Affairs. Il. the Illyrian Wars. Sy. the Syrian Wars. Mi. the Mithridatic Wars. C. I, C. II, etc., the Civil Wars I, II, etc. Fr. Fragmenta. Arabic numerals signify sections.

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[1] Translated from Schweighäuser's Index, with the additions thereto in the Didot edition and some amendments by the translator.

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